

IN THESE TIMES

"It's not my
father."
Paul Robeson Jr.
Page 21



Vol. 2, No. 31

June 21-27, 1978

50 Cents

John Judis

The Klan Meets It's Match

"Ten years ago
in Mississippi you
wouldn't have gotten
black people to
stand up to
the Klan."

Susan Pearson

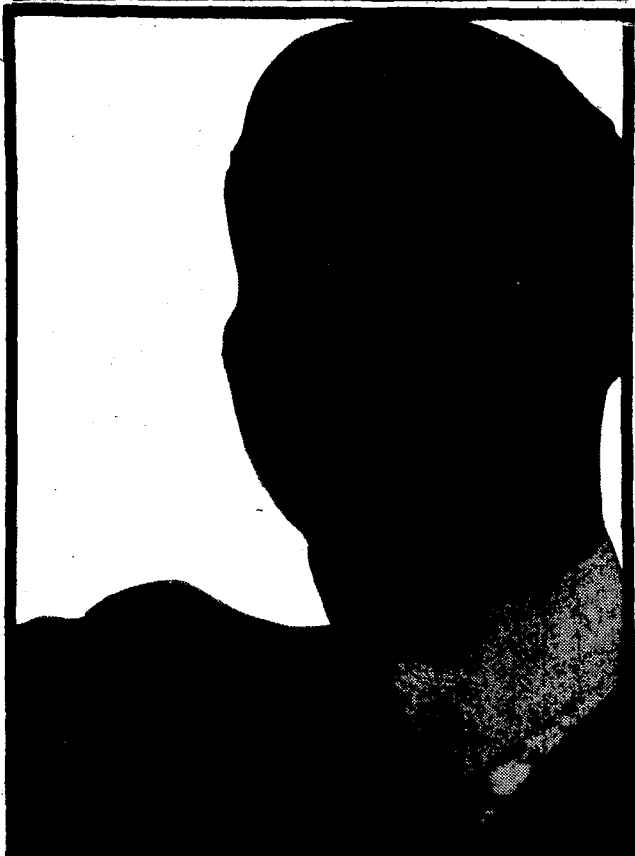


Report
From
Tupelo
by John Judis



THE INSIDE STORY

Guest Column by Albert Aido



Split in the Nation of Islam may mean return to Malcolm legacy

The world of internal Muslim politics continues to be fraught with conspiracy, intrigue, misconception, and a general lack of knowledge. Recently, however, the internal conflict boiling within the World Community of Islam in the West (formerly the Nation of Islam) came to a head when Minister Abdul Haleem Farrakhan (formerly Louis) announced in January of this year the severing of all ties with the black Muslim organization.

The recent split has virtually gone ignored in the general press, the *New York Times* having only reported the split in March of this year. The *Amsterdam News* gave the news front-page coverage indicating the importance of the split to many Afro-Americans—in fact, one might suggest the split contains within it the seeds of a black nationalist revival. To get at the bottom of the split, a short recounting of internal black Muslim factional politics is necessary.

Factional infighting.

Following the assassination of Malcolm X in 1965, many Americans returned to a rather complacent view of the Nation of Islam. Its program of racial separatism, black capitalism, moral and spiritual regeneration, and self-help were viewed as anachronistic in the new era of "Black Power." "Black Power" with its often misunderstood links to the Black Nationalism of the 19th and 20th centuries became the ideological cement that mobilized the masses of Afro-Americans in the late '60s. The Nation frowned upon the symbols and rituals of the "Black Power" movement—natural hair styles and beards, African dress, and a disdain for American cultural values and lifestyles. With their policy of internal organization and self-help at the expense of community-wide involvement, they remained aloof from the nationwide mobilizations of the '60s.

It was issues like these that led to Malcolm's defection in early 1964 and caused many others to question the Nation's role. They, too, would be at the base of the infighting that plagued the organization as it entered the '70s—the era of "benign neglect," as now Senator Daniel P. Moynihan of New York termed the Afro-American policy of the Nixon-Agnew team.

The tension, infighting, and factional strife that plagued the Nation of Islam in the last decade can be

This edition (Vol. 2, No. 31) published June 21, 1978, for newsstand sales June 21-27, 1978.

attributed to a host of factors. First, the isolation of Elijah Muhammad, founder and spiritual leader of the organization, from his following promoted dissidence and bold challenges to his authority. In 1972, a number of assassinations in the San Francisco-Oakland Bay area, Indianapolis, Chicago and Rochester were linked to this dissident challenge to Muhammad's rule. Raymond Sharif (head of the para-military FOI, Fruit of Islam, "strong-arm" segment of the Nation) narrowly escaped a firebombing of his car. This challenge culminated in the assassination of four dissidents in Baton Rouge, La., in December 1972.

Second, the Hanafi, Sunni, Asante and other Moslem sects' emergence in the early '70s also compounded the factional strife plaguing the Nation of Islam. Their challenge centered on the Nation's lack of orthodoxy. Abdul Khaalis, leader of the Hanafi sect in Washington, D.C., narrowly escaped a wave of violence that left seven members of the sect dead in early January 1973.

Finally, the alleged involvement of many east coast Muslims in criminal activity—extortion, burglary, robbery and larceny—dealt the organization a serious blow. Newark, for example, became the scene of Muslim violence in 1973-74 when Minister James Shabazz was assassinated by members of one faction, and the death of Major Coxson of Camden, a known numbers banker, caused many to ask questions about the so-called Black Muslim-Black Mafia connection.

Saudi influence.

It was no surprise when, following Elijah Muhammad's death in 1975, the new Leader, Wallace Muhammad, announced radical policy changes. The small business empire of the Nation was disbanded, and many Muslim properties put up for sale to private businessmen, including the Guaranty Bank and Trust Co. of Chicago, the Muslim bank. The long-standing policy of refusing admittance to whites was dropped, causing great consternation among the membership. Restrictions on women and on social and political involvement of the membership were relaxed. Temple No. 7 in Harlem was renamed after Malcolm X, who had been in disfavor with the organization since 1963. According to sources who wish to remain unknown, the reasoning for the policy changes was the gradual move of the Nation toward the conservative Arab regimes of the oil

belt in the Middle East. The shift, including the admission of whites, was designed to show the oil sheikhs that the Nation embraced the Islamic fundamentalism of the Middle East.

These dramatic shifts diluted the nationalistic foundation of the Nation of Islam and eventually led to today's split. Minister Farrakhan, once the national spokesman for Elijah Muhammad, was transferred to Chicago in 1975, where the national leadership could closely monitor his activities. Farrakhan, a fiery orator and polemicist, reminiscent of the late Malcolm X, accepted the re-appointment without complaint until now.

In a January interview with the *Amsterdam News*, Farrakhan subtly indicated what his disagreements were with the old leadership and the new policy change:

The Blackman in America is still suffering from ills we have yet to conquer. So it seems to me that we should address ourselves to the people who are in the worst position and condition. After we have made sufficient strides in the solving of our problems, by God's help, then we would be in a better position to turn our attention to the people and the problems of the world.

In splitting, Farrakhan said he was remaining true to the "teachings of Elijah Muhammad." That is taken to mean that he disagrees with the policy of integration and instead is placing his emphasis on black organization and self-help. Seeing the absorption of black cultural nationalism in the media and fashion industries, Farrakhan felt that the healthy sense of "self," of identity, that was the basis of the Nation for more than three decades had been violated by the new policy orientation. Black independence was being compromised, and black self-help and self-reliance would become nonexistent.

The split in the rank and file indicates a return to a more classical vision of black nationalism—one that holds true to the old Garveyite notion of racial organization as the essential ingredient of an independent Afro-American movement. If Farrakhan's activities since the split are any indication—frequent lectures and public forums—the wave of the future promises a rebirth and revival of fundamentalist black nationalism—which in turn is the legacy of Malcolm to our generation.

"Albert Aido" is a black intellectual who has closely followed developments in the black movement over the last 15 years.

Courtesy Chicago Defender



Above left: Abdul Haleem Farrakhan Above: Wallace Muhammad

IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 50 times a year: weekly except for the fourth week of July and the fourth week of December by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc. 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622, (312) 489-4444, TWX: 910-221-5401, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Illinois.

EDITORIAL

James Weinstein, Editor, M.J. Sklar, Associate Editor, Doyle Niemann, Managing Editor, John Judis, Foreign News Editor, Janet Stevenson, Cultural Editor, Dan Marschall, David Moberg, National Staff, Diana Johnstone (Paris), Mervyn Jones (London), Bruce Vandervort (Geneva), Foreign Correspondents, Elizabeth Price, Editorial Assistant, Bill Burr, Keenen Peck, Steve Ross-wurm, Librarians.

ART

Kerry Tremain, Art Director, Tom Greensfelder, Associate Art Director, Nori Davis, Assistant Art Director, Jim Rinnert, Composition, Pam Rice, Camera, Ken Firestone, Photographer.

BUSINESS

William Sennett, James Weinstein, Co-publishers, Nick Rabkin, General Manager, Ellen Deidre Murphy, Advertising/Business, Jan Czarnik, Circulation Manager.

BUREAUS

SAN FRANCISCO: Chris Dorr, 140 Sanchez St., San Francisco, CA 94114, (415) 626-7897. SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 110, Atlanta, GA 30308 (404) 881-1689. NEW YORK: George Carrano, Jon Fisher, 784 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10025, (212) 865-7638. BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 123 Oxford St., Cambridge, MA 02140, (617) 864-8689.

SPONSORS

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David Du Bois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Frances Putnam Fritchman, Stephen Fritchman, Barbara Garson, Eugene D. Genovese, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Herbert Marcuse, David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weinstein, William A. Williams, John Womack Jr.

The entire contents of IN THESE TIMES is copyright © 1978 by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc., and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission from the publisher. All rights reserved. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. Subscriptions, address changes, and adjustments should be sent to IN THESE TIMES, Circulation Department. Subscriptions are \$17.50/year. Advertising rates sent on request. All letters received by IN THESE TIMES become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois.

Center stage for Illinois in ERA melodrama

By David Moberg

THE BATTLE FOR THE EQUAL Rights Amendment more and more resembles one of those old silent-movie, cliffhanging melodramas. The fair damsel, Little Era, escapes from one mess only to be hounded by dastardly male politicians, conservative prelates, rightwing harpies and varied rich businessmen. The pack of assailants has driven her to the edge of the precipice. Pious politicians vacillate, wing their hands and shed crocodile tears about her fate.

But in the distance—perhaps just around the bend—there is the sound again of a galloping horse. Will Little Era be saved? Will our heroine arrive in time?

One leading prospect for saving the Equal Rights Amendment—which simply guarantees that no rights shall be denied or abridged because of sex—is ratification of the amendment by three of the 13 hold-out states before the March 22, 1979, deadline.

That prospect, which seems tough but not absolutely impossible, was given another setback June 7, when the Illinois House narrowly failed to give a pro-ERA resolution the necessary three-fifths majority. House members introduced the following day, since the original proposal failed not because of inadequate support but because of an internal Democratic Party dispute over potential black leadership in the House.

Two days earlier in Washington another possible savior was in the making. The Civil and Constitutional Rights Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee approved a seven-year extension for debate and ratification of the ERA by a four-to-three vote. Although the full committee vote, expected soon, looks quite close, women's rights advocates believe that the chances of approval are good there and even better in the

Congress considers an extension of the ERA ratification deadline, and attention is focused on Illinois where there is still hope.

House itself. The Senate bill, just introduced with 24 sponsors, also faces tougher opposition in committee than in the full body.

Interparty bickering.

In five previous votes in the Illinois legislature, the ERA failed to get the required "supermajority," but this time proponents thought they had everything nailed down. The boycott of Chicago's prominent convention facilities by professional associations and other groups had already cost the city \$171 million, according to estimates by the National Organization for Women. Despite their denials, that clout may have helped to turn around the city's Democratic machine, which had been lukewarm and divided on the ERA. The machine was responsible for seven or eight switches from "no" to "yes."

One Chicago black machine loyalist, James C. Taylor, was won over with what proved to be an ill-fated offer of co-sponsorship of the bill. Floor leaders for the ERA had waiting in the wings some final wavering legislators who could put the resolution over the hump if their votes were needed.

When the tally was taken, however, the ERA forces were astonished. Five black representatives from Chicago, four of them Democrats and all past supporters

Photos/Leo Tannenbaum

IN THESE TIMES JUNE 21-27, 1978 3



of ERA, did not vote. The resolution drew 101 votes, six short of three-fifths.

The five black abstainers announced that they had withheld their support to protest the deal struck with Taylor. They feared that it was a sign white legislators were preparing to name Taylor, who had mounted the machine attack last spring on the respected black independent Democrat, Sen. Harold Washington, the black House leader when the senior black representative retires this year. They objected to Taylor as leader, to whites potentially naming their leader, and to ERA sponsors taking their votes for granted.

Their move caused great anger and dismay among the ERA forces and among many blacks, although generally blacks publicly empathized with the concern the five had about black self-determination in the legislature.

Taylor withdrew as sponsor from one of the new bills and the reigning house black leader, Cornell Davis, joined with two other blacks to introduce one of the three renewed pro-ERA resolutions. After more backroom banter, the five announced that they would support any future ERA bills.

Shifting alliances.

The thin three-fifths favoring the ERA is a shifting, unreliable amalgam, however, as the earlier vote demonstrated. Although the House narrowly voted to discharge another ERA resolution from committee on June 14 for a possible vote on June 20, backers were worried that more votes might fall away in the intervening days.

Robert Pechous, a Democrat from a conservative, largely Catholic, middle income Chicago suburban district, announced last week, for example, that he may switch from "yes" to "no" after encountering anti-ERA demonstrators at several public affairs following his earlier vote for the ERA. His mail, he claimed, was running 25 to one against the ERA, even though a poll conducted by a professor at the University of Illinois showed solid majorities for the ERA in every district of the state, with over 70 percent in support in most of the metropolitan Chicago area.

Much of Pechous' mail, he said, seems to have come from organized opposition linking the ERA to abortion rights. Sister Maurcen Fiedler, national coordinator of Catholics Act for ERA, said that anti-abortion groups have been able to use church bulletins and other resources in various parts of the state to attack the ERA as an open door for abortion. Although the Catholic hierarchy has been mute on the issue, "everybody knows that Cardinal Cody opposes ERA," Fiedler says, "and that doesn't help."

Although the anti-abortion crusade against the ERA and right-wing arguments that the ERA would compromise state's rights have made some new inroads against the amendment in the past year or so, Chicago NOW executive director Nancy Shier insisted that the defeat of the ERA "was not a victory for the right wing. It was not a victory for the anti-ERA

forces. We had a majority of over three-fifths, and the defeat had nothing to do with the issue of ERA itself."

Meanwhile, Phyllis Schlafly, the one-woman right-wing battalion against equal rights, announced that she would accept the ERA if it included a clause that retained for women "any rights, benefits and privileges they now possess." Some equal rights advocates saw the statement as a ploy designed to cleave away some wavering ERA supporters. Others thought Schlafly was merely trying to save face for the time when the ERA is passed and does not bring the horrendous results Schlafly has prophesied.

Although Illinois ERA proponents were moderately pleased with the performance of the regular Democratic organization in turning around votes, they were generally harsh with Republican Gov. James Thompson, who has spoken out for the ERA but worked hard for election of anti-ERA Republicans. "Thompson didn't deliver any votes," one lobbyist said flatly. "And he knows how to get things through the legislature if he wants."

Even if the resolution gets through the House before the session ends this month, the Senate may offer a tougher challenge. The Republican margin against the ERA is even more decisive there, making Thompson's thus far weak role even more of an impediment.

However, Democratic Senate leader Thomas Hines appears willing to rule that only a simple majority, not three-fifths, is required. The courts ruled in 1972 that the three-fifths vote mandated by the state constitution was optional for a federal amendment but not required, if the supermajority is demanded in the Senate, backers see little hopes of passage there, yet there are Senators who claim they are for ERA and for the three-fifths rule.

Extension moving.

In Washington, those working for extension of the time for voting on the ERA have been encouraged by their progress with the proposal, which seemed like a long shot last fall. Although Schlafly and others denounce the measure as "changing rules in the middle of the game," Arlie Scott, NOW vice-president for action programs, says, "This is not a game. We're talking about the constitutional rights of 100 million people."

Opinions from the Justice Department and independent constitutional lawyers convince NOW that the extension is perfectly legal. The amending process in the Constitution specifies no time limit. It was only in this century that a limit, somewhat arbitrarily set at seven years, was tacked on to amendments to guarantee that they would still be relevant when considered. Also, a majority vote in Congress, not two-thirds, is needed to approve the extension.

Although there are threats to add an amendment granting states the right to rescind their vote, the Supreme Court has ruled in the past that any question about rescinding, as three states have done on

Continued on page 18.



ERA backers thought they had the votes in Illinois, only to have the victory snatched away because of an intra-party feud. They are counting on another chance, but a lot depends upon the degree of public pressure. Above: Pro-ERA demonstration in Illinois. Below: An ERA activist.

TAX REVOLT

California in chaos in wake of passage of Jarvis-Gann

By Eve Pell

STOP THE POLITICIANS FROM GOING TO Paris and Hawaii!" "The politicians put Proposition 8 on the ballot. The People put Proposition 13 on the ballot. Who do you trust?" With slogans like these, fueled by resentment of ever-escalating property taxes, California voters, 60 percent of whom are home owners, swept Proposition 13 to victory and narrowly defeated Proposition 8, a compromise tax relief initiative belatedly devised by a liberal Republican senator.

Jarvis-Gann will cut property taxes on all real property in California from 4 percent of assessed value to 1 percent. Value will be assessed on the basis of 1975-76 prices. Since some property has increased in value at 20-percent a year, the roll-back means a dramatic additional reduction. When property is sold, it will be reassessed at 25 percent of the actual sale price. State taxes cannot be raised without a two-thirds vote of the state legislature.

The aftermath.

In the aftermath of Proposition 13 chaos reigns. No one can answer the important questions: How many jobs will be lost? Which services will close? What does the vote mean?

Day and night meetings go on up and down the state: administrators wonder how to cut their budgets; unions fight to retain jobs and wages; workers debate whether to accept salary cuts in order to hold onto their jobs.

The governor and the legislature must complete a plan for allocation of the state's estimated \$5.8 billion surplus by July 1, the date Proposition 13 goes into effect. "It's complete pandemonium in Sacramento," says Cary Lowe of the California Public Policy Center. "You can't even talk to anyone up there."

It is possible that Howard Jarvis' initiative will be declared unconstitutional. Five lawsuits were filed almost immediately after the measure's two-to-one victory by teachers' unions, school districts and officials, eight counties, and two Sacramento residents.

Among the lawsuits' claims: Proposition 13 denies equal protection of the laws because homeowners who buy property after 1976 will pay more for the same services than those who bought before. Also, the suits claim the proposition is an illegal revision of the constitution, not an amendment, and that it covers more than one subject, which is against California law.

Attorney General Evelle Younger, who won the Republican gubernatorial primary, considers Proposition 13 constitutional and will defend it. The California Supreme Court is expected to act speedily, within a few months. No less than four justices must face the voters in November; their votes will be subject to careful scrutiny by the electorate.

In the meantime, layoff notices keep coming. "Each of you must appear personally to pick up and sign for your pay check on Friday. In exchange, you must

sign for and pick up the official layoff notice," says the letter sent to the staff of the Santa Clara County Public Defender's office. In other offices, employees search for their names on computer-printed lists posted on bulletin boards.

Generally, affirmative action has given way to seniority. A Los Angeles survey showed that about 62 percent of some 8,300 laid-off workers there are minority members; about 28 percent women.

While the total rendered jobless by the Jarvis-Gann initiative will probably not approach the 450,000 predicted before the election by management experts at UCLA, the numbers grow daily. Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy expects at least 75,000 local government employees to be laid off in the next few months.

Services too are shutting down: summer schools in most areas, health centers, new admissions to city hospitals. Freezes on overtime have reduced the hours some public facilities remain open, and the deputies available to staff jails.

San Francisco declared a state of fiscal emergency June 12, giving the mayor and department heads special powers to reduce expenses.

Many community groups that provide health care, legal services and counseling in poor and minority communities must also cut back severely because they depend on federally funded CETA workers hired through county-administered contracts. With the end of county funding, the groups lose their eligibility for CETA workers. Thus Centro Legal de la Raza in Oakland's Fruitvale area will lose seven people, and must reduce the number of cases it can take per month by about 100.

Did voters want services cut?

Was this what the voters wanted? No one can say for sure, but two differing strains of opinion emerge. According to a *Los Angeles Times* poll, 71 percent of voters for Proposition 13 did not intend to vote for a cut in county services.

"The voters thought they'd have more control over their government and that it would cut out new cars for supervisors and trips to the Bahamas for the mayor," says a nurse recently laid off from San Francisco General Hospital.

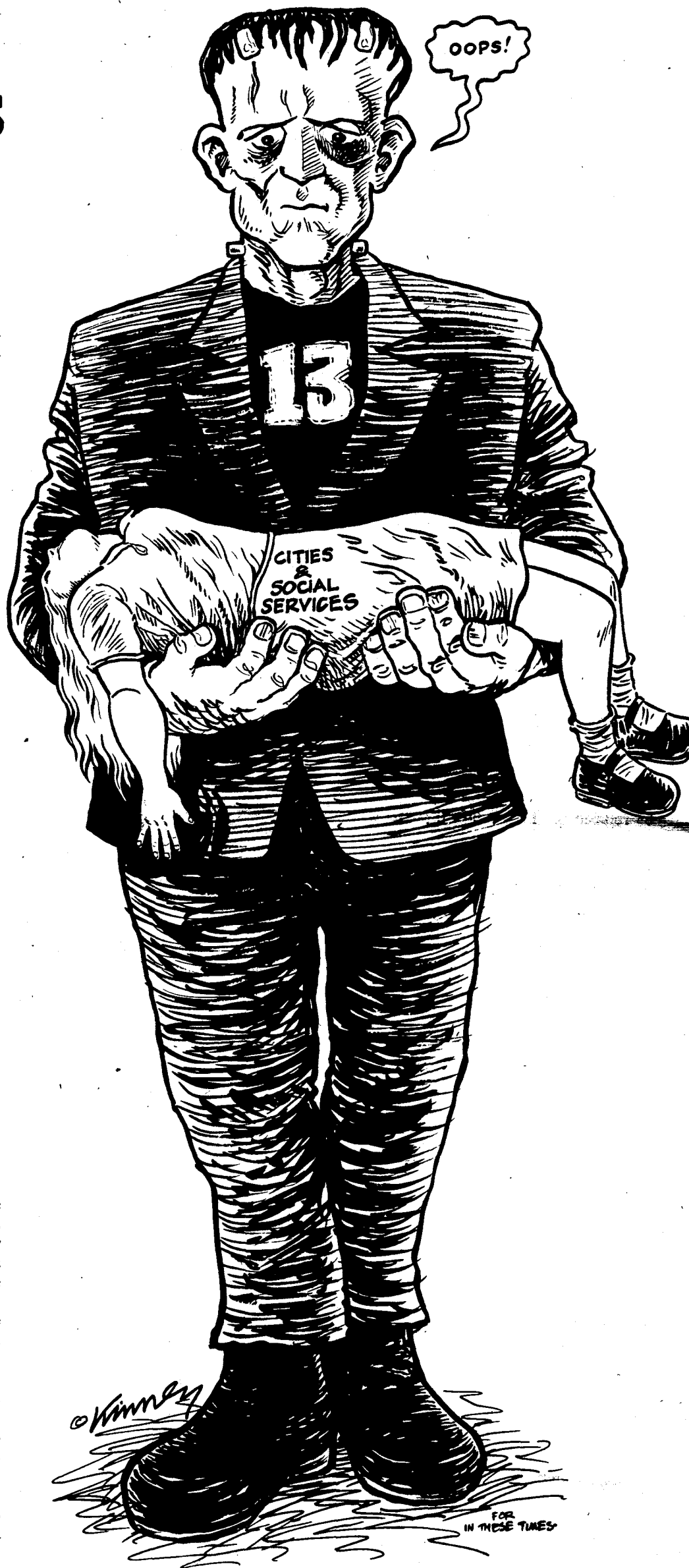
But the second view holds that voters really had it in for public employees and welfare recipients.

"The message wasn't just tax reform; they didn't like the public servants," says Emalie Ortega, a lawyer in the Santa Clara County public defender's office. "It hurts that they went to the polls with such vindictiveness. As a single parent with three kids, I'll be hit pretty hard."

Whatever the motivation of the voters, desperate workers faced with layoffs are reacting in different ways to salvage as much as possible.

Some are meeting to discuss the possibility of taking cuts in salary, job-sharing, or shorter work weeks in order to minimize the number of layoffs.

Some want their full pay and normal hours at the expense of others, like the deputies at the San Francisco jails who



Jay Kinney

What exactly did the voters have in mind when they passed a radical tax reform measure in California? Did they want service cutbacks, or were they just sending a message?

think social services for inmates can be dispensed with.

Others appeal to the public: 48 hours after Los Angeles mayor Tom Bradley announced that 1,000 police would be cut, the Police Protective League ran a full-page newspaper ad depicting the aftermath of a mugging and asking, "Where will the police be when you need them?"

Still others want to proceed at full staff on full salary with no cuts and run the offices until the money runs out, then simply close the doors.

It appears that non-unionized workers like public defender staffs, county counsel staffs, and county parole administrators tend more toward the voluntary salary cut and shorter work week method of keeping as many jobs as possible. Unionized workers seem less likely to go that route.

An eligibility worker in the Contra Costa County welfare office and member of Service Employees International Union (SEIU), explains her reasoning. Five years ago, she said, when a financial crunch threatened the staff with layoffs, they all agreed to accept lowered salaries. However, full funding unexpectedly came in at the last minute. "Then," she fumes, "management hired additional people, gave themselves an 8 percent raise plus a 5 percent management differential and a huge insurance policy. We remained at the 'crisis' wage. We have no reason to think that would not happen again. We don't trust them."

Workers in her office are demanding that no line staff be laid off, that rules be relaxed so those who wish leaves of absence or part-time work can be accommodated, and that if the pay is reduced, the hours be reduced proportionately. "There are a lot of ways to cut budgets without cutting people," she concludes.

Wait and see attitude.

Tim Nesbitt of SEIU Local 616 in Oakland says that counties should not act on layoffs until they know what they will be getting from the state surplus. "The Jarvis forces told people that there was enough money at the state level to bail out essential services," he says. "We should keep all our programs going right

along full budget in anticipation of the county's share of the surplus."

Nesbitt adds that in the meantime people should press for progressive tax reform.

Frank Gold, a high school teacher in Mill Valley, reflects the position of the California Federation of Teachers: Voters protested bureaucratic waste and highly paid managers, he says, but not the cop on the corner or the teacher in the classroom. Therefore, a major effort must be made to trim such items as travel and expenses for administrators, consultant fees, and other similar outlays while maintaining essential services. If, after those things are done, there is insufficient funding to pay for teachers' salaries and run the schools, the schools should not open in the fall until the money is made available.

As response to Proposition 13 develops, some coalitions between community groups and unions are being formed in Los Angeles and Alameda County.

Women's crisis centers, health clinics, groups of disabled and elderly as well as those that provide legal and youth services in Alameda County, for instance, have joined with SEIU to form the Labor-Community Coalition for Jobs and Community Services.

Members have pledged that no one organization will compete with any other, and that the community groups will not be pitted against county workers. They have asked for a 90-day moratorium on layoffs, and for the county supervisors to declare human services the top priority for allocation of funds. A demonstration June 13 drew 500 people, who cheered speakers demanding that corporations be taxed to make up for revenue losses. The county supervisors, scheduled to begin budget hearings that day, postponed their session.

School board leaders and labor leaders have proposed a ballot measure in November that would cancel Proposition 13's benefits for businesses and landlords, but Gov. Jerry Brown opposes it.

Says SEIU's Nesbitt, "We should have had our own tax relief bill on the ballot before; everybody realizes that now. We made a total mistake in California." ■
Eve Pell is a free-lance writer in the Bay Area.

Support grows for overall tax limit

By Mary Ellen Leary

EFFORTS TO SLASH PROPERTY taxes in other states are sure to ride on the wave of victory sparked by the "Taxpayers' Revolt" in California, where Proposition 13—the Jarvis-Gann initiative—won in the June 6 primary by a margin of two to one.

The initiative, which cuts property taxes statewide by an estimated 57 percent and sets new standards for the legislature in implementing it, is being viewed as a "new mandate against politicians and insensitive bureaucrats whose philosophy is 'spend, spend, spend, tax, tax, tax,'" Howard Jarvis said in an election night victory speech.

Jarvis, who with Paul Gann sponsored the measure, said the win was the beginning of a "national campaign against property taxes.... I am going to do everything within my ability to help people [in other states] get started."

Before the victory, however, organized efforts to ride the tax revolt were under way in at least 30 states. And the man behind much of that movement is Lewis K. Uhler, president of the National Tax Limitation Committee and an aide to Ronald Reagan when he was California governor.

Uhler views the acceptance of the Jarvis-Gann initiative as support for his campaign of several years to reform taxes. "California's response to Proposition 13 has given the tax-cut movement an explosive push. ... Voter power has become a reality overnight. People see they can do something effective after all: They can control government."

"This is just what we hoped for, to make people understand and support our program," he says. The emotional charge from Jarvis-Gann is bringing into Uhler's organization "key political figures with powers in their own states to draft and enact laws." Currently, he says, the National Tax Limitation Committee is involved in tax-reducing moves in about half the states.

In mid-May the committee held its first convention in Chicago. Thirty-eight states were represented and 50 legislators were present. Not only was there a universal commitment to halt the growth of local governments, Uhler says, there also was a consensus that the federal government's tax bite also must be muzzled.

"A new phenomenon has simply burst out, all across the country. A lot of folks will run with the same drive that fueled the Jarvis-Gann campaign here—the same anger at unjust tax burdens, the same annoyance at declining public service, the same frustration at a government that is so big it can no longer be contained."

The Jarvis-Gann style of simplistic slash and roll-back is not, however, the National Tax Limitation Committee's concept of the way to control over-taxation, Uhler says. A far tighter curb on the politicians can be devised with less disruptive immediate consequences. His group aims to fashion a better-structured, long-range mechanism to stop the jack-in-the-beanstalk growth government has exhibited the past two or three years.

Uhler backed the Jarvis-Gann measure as "the only game in town." But he is critical of its broad sweep and its aim at only property taxes. His committee seeks to put

a cap on all taxes by holding government revenues, or government spending, at a fixed ratio of total capital in the public's hands.

In general, the aim is to hold government about where it is in proportion to government's rake-off from the money the total public earns. The committee estimates that all taxes today pluck in the aggregate about 40 percent of America's earnings. Other economists fix the sum lower at around 35 percent.)

Restraint over future government growth can be achieved, Uhler contends, by fixing a formula into the Constitution.

Such a plan was proposed in California's Proposition 8, the Behr bill, which was rejected by a close margin.

Uhler's committee's hope of implementing something akin to the Behr bill limitations has not been deterred by the Proposition 13 victory. In fact Uhler expects to work in California in coming weeks to help bring about some new form of restraint on state taxes—perhaps as early as the November ballot.

"It is clear that some clean-up kind of legislation will be needed, once the dust settles and emotions are reduced," Uhler says.

"Oddly enough," he says, "our ideas, which shocked the state and got defeated when proposed in 1973, look pretty conservative today in the context of the Jarvis-Gann hatchet-job. We think there will be a lot of new interest in our plan to curb state government, perhaps in exchange for easing some of the problems caused by Jarvis-Gann."

Coincidentally, some business leaders are eyeing a measure for the November ballot that might tie a government spending curb similar to the Behr plan to a split property tax roll. In exchange for a constitutional limitation on future state tax collections it has been reported that some business leaders would accept a split property assessment roll that would levy higher rates on business and commercial property than on homes.

Were taxes on commercial real estate to be set at, say, twice the rate of homes, the additional money for local governments would ease the gap Proposition 13 created.

Businessmen are studying the move in anticipation of political outcry once it is realized that the larger share of benefits from Jarvis-Gann goes to corporations rather than home-owners.

An analysis by the legislature's budget adviser, William G. Hamm, showed that in the aggregate homeowners would receive about 36 percent of the total tax reductions, and renters about 19 percent, but commercial and agricultural properties (which change hands less often) eventually would reap a total of 45 percent.

Uhler says he believes that a long-range state revenue limitation written into the California constitution might be bartered for new taxes on business property—a politically acceptable exchange if tied to a promise that no new state taxes would come along later to hit business.

It will be weeks before such maneuvers sort themselves out, but the feeling is strong in many quarters that the concept of an overall tax limitation is not dead. ■

(©1978 Pacific News Service)

Mary Ellen Leary is a free-lance writer specializing in California politics and a former Nieman Fellow.

But, Howard, you promised!



California's homeowners, who voted overwhelmingly for Proposition 13 June 6, will get less than \$2 billion of the \$7 billion in anticipated tax savings, according to California's nonpartisan legislative analyst. The rest will go out of state or to non-resident property owners.

Of the \$2 billion savings to property owners, analyst William G. Hamm told the state legislature June 12, some \$3 billion will go to out-of-state corporations to fund their tax-cut plans in California. Another \$4 billion will go to the federal government to fund higher income taxes, because Californians will have smaller property tax deductions. And something less than half of the remain-

ing \$2 billion in savings will go to California business property owners. The rest, something over \$1 billion, will actually go to home owners.

In other words, the estimated \$5.8 billion accumulated surplus of California tax revenues could have provided homeowners with four years of relief equivalent to what they will receive as a result of the passage of Proposition 13 had that money been made available for tax refunds. Distribution of the surplus, supplemented by passage of legislation providing for a reduction of home owners' taxes, could thus have provided the projected level of tax relief with no cut in social services.

ELECTIONS

Yvonne Burke goes for state office

By Emily Gibson

YVONNE BRATHWAITE BURKE may well become the first black woman attorney general in the state of California. Having emerged victorious in a nip-and-tuck race with Los Angeles City Attorney Burt Pines for the Democratic Party nomination, Burke is gearing up for what will likely be a much tougher race come November.

Burke was a practicing attorney for ten years before being elected to the California State Assembly in 1966, and then to three terms as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives. She is now pitted against California's leading proponent of the death penalty—state Senator George Deukmejian (R-Long Beach) in the November contest for California attorney general.

In the wake of some skepticism about her decision to give up her congressional seat for a bid to become attorney general, Burke held her ground. Detractors among her political peers said the post would be a step down from Congress, but Burke didn't buy that.

"I will merely be making a move from representing a district to statewide representation," Burke said in a recent Los Angeles news conference.

Burke sees it as a challenge because only two other blacks in California history—Lt. Gov. Mervyn M. Dymally and state superintendent of public instruction, Wilson Riles—have been elected to statewide offices.

The office of attorney general has been monopolized for the past eight years by Republican Evelle Younger, who won his party's gubernatorial nomination earlier this month.

Largely because of his political posture, Younger was viewed by many as the state's "top cop" during his reign as attorney general.

Burke, on the other hand, wants people to see the attorney general's office in another light: "Most people see the attorney general's office as being one which is law enforcement. What I have to do is try to educate them that it is, of course, leadership in law enforcement, but...much more than that, it's a consumer protection job. It's a job where you advise the state government."

Burke said she would like to utilize her background to ensure that the attorney general's office places emphasis on such issues as producing more legislative programs on economy, transportation, the environment and energy.

The June primaries for attorney general drew very little media attention. The race took a back seat to the heady campaign waged by proponents of Proposition 13 (the Jarvis-Gann tax initiative) and to the colorful contest between former Los Angeles Police Chief Ed Davis and Evelle Younger for the Republican gubernatorial nomination.

Another reason for lack of attention to the attorney general race was that voters were not able to see any real differences between Burke and her Democratic opponent, Burt Pines.

It was a lackluster race, with both candidates agreeing on major legal issues. Both had stated opposition to the death penalty, but both said they would uphold the law that reinstated capital punishment.

They parroted each other on the issues of organized crime and agreed that "the Mafia," as well as street and prison gangs, pose a potential threat to California.

Both were vociferous in condemnation of an anti-gay initiative sponsored by state Senator John V. Briggs (R-Fullerton). And, although both would probably deny it, their statewide TV advertising campaigns had some similarities.

The Pines commercial focused on "law

After giving up her seat in Congress to run for attorney general, Yvonne Burke scored a narrow victory in the June primary. The election ahead promises to be a tough one.

and order" and, while Burke's was less dramatic, she came across clearly—particularly at one point when she made her appeal for election in what appeared to be a police officer's uniform.

The biggest dispute centered on a local police file-shredding controversy. In the last leg of the primary Burke criticized the unlawful destruction of more than four tons of Los Angeles police records by Pines' office in May 1976.

Her campaign took out a full-page ad in the *Los Angeles Times* charging that, "As a result of the unlawful destruction of official records, the courts were compelled to dismiss more than 130 criminal cases against persons accused of assaulting police officers or resisting arrest."

Pines, who tried unsuccessfully to block public disclosure of the file-shredding, also sought to prevent a court hearing or to suppress the testimony of key witnesses



Yvonne Brathwaite Burke hopes to be the third black elected to high state office in California.

es against the police in at least three cases, the advertisement said.

Burke beat Pines 52 to 48 percent.

The November race will be a tough one. Burke will again be fighting to hold her own.

Her political career has not been spectacular, but she is far from the stereotype affixed to her by *New West* magazine

writer Marlene Marks, who called Burke "the Diana Ross of politics." Her congressional record is sound enough that *Redbook* recently said that she is among the most effective of 18 congresswomen, "second only to Texas' Barbara Jordan," who also is retiring from the House this year.

Emily Gibson is a writer in Los Angeles.

ABORTION

Hyde amendment challenged in court

Plaintiffs in a suit described as "the most comprehensive challenge yet" to the Hyde amendment, which restricts the use of federal funds for abortion payments, are about to wrap up their arguments in the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York. The decision, expected sometime before October, when a 1978 version of the amendment would go into effect, will have broad implications in the fight for poor women's abortion rights.

At issue in the national class action suit, *McRae vs. Califano*, is the constitutionality of the Hyde amendment.

Pro-choice attorneys with the Center for Constitutional Rights, Planned Parenthood and the American Civil Liberties Union are seeking to have the 1976 and 1977 anti-abortion amendments declared invalid, and seek an injunction against enforcement of a renewed amendment. They are arguing that the amendment violates the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, as well as the clause of the First Amendment separating church and state.

The suit is being brought by Cora McRae and several other low-income women unable to obtain abortions because of the Hyde amendment. The plaintiffs also include doctors wishing to provide and be reimbursed for abortion services, Planned Parenthood of New York City and the Women's Division of the Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church. The church is arguing for Methodist women, particularly poor Methodist women, whose religious beliefs do not prohibit abortions but who have been prevented from obtaining abortions, because of an act, they say, that embodies one set of religious beliefs.

The New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation, in a companion suit, is seeking to protect its right, as a public agency providing medical care to indigent persons, to receive federal reimburse-

ment for Medical abortions.

The defendant in both suits is Health Education and Welfare Secretary Joseph A. Califano, who is legally responsible for implementing the Hyde amendment.

Isabella Pernicone, a member of the National Right to Life Committee, is an intervenor—defendant in behalf of "unborn life." Representative Henry Hyde (R-IL), James Buckley, the former Republican Senator from New York; and Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) each has a similar status in behalf of taxpayers opposed to the expenditure of public funds for abortions.

Some 35 witnesses, including many medical professionals and religious representatives, brought in by pro-choice lawyers, have testified since the trial started last summer. The trial record includes some 200 exhibits and well over 4,000 pages of transcripts.

Perhaps the most controversial arguments have been those saying that the Hyde amendment violates separation of church and state. The First Amendment clause establishing this states, in part: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof..."

To be legal, the plaintiffs claim, a statute must have a secular purpose, must neither advance nor inhibit one religious view and must not promote excessive government intervention with religion. The plaintiffs' lawyers charge that the Hyde amendment is religiously motivated and promotes one religious view at the expense of others.

Religious leaders have testified on behalf of the plaintiffs, describing how their respective faiths either do not prohibit or actually support abortion as an option in various cases.

At issue also during the presentation of religious testimony was the involvement of the Catholic hierarchy in the fight against abortions. The court record in-

cludes considerable evidence showing that the Roman Catholic hierarchy has devoted money, personnel and organizational resources to the fight against abortion in general and against public funding of abortions for the poor in general.

The doctors who testified addressed the amendment's concept of "medical necessity" as well as the constitutional principles of due process and equal protection under the law.

Pro-choice advocates have had to wage a fight on many fronts. The Hyde amendment must be voted on each year by both the House and Senate. State governments are also free to decide whether or not to provide their half of the Medicaid payments for poor women who want abortions.

Demonstrators demanding that the Hyde amendment be rescinded have greeted Califano, its administrator, at almost every speaking engagement since the act was passed. At one such demonstration in New York City last fall, over 2,000 protesters filled the streets in front of New York University when Califano appeared to give a speech before the law school.

Opponents of the Hyde amendment have also criticized the government's continued funding of sterilization while abortion funding is denied.

"Medicaid cutbacks for abortion," said a spokesperson for the Coalition for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse in New York last fall, "means the increasing sterilization of poor and minority women."

"Right to Life" forces have escalated their fight too, organizing state by state for resolutions calling for a national constitutional convention to amend the U.S. Constitution to give personhood to the fetus. Thus all abortions, not just those funded by Medicaid, would be made illegal.

—Liberation News Service

LABOR

Engineers moving to unionize

The fact that engineers are considering a union is indicative of the changes in the engineering industry.

By John Markoff

ROCKWELL INTERNATIONAL, CALIF.

ROCKWELL INTERNATIONAL, the nation's sixth largest defense contractor, used millions of dollars in government money, including funds programmed for the B-1 bomber and the Space Shuttle, in an attempt to defeat a union organizing drive by aerospace engineers.

The misuse of government contract funds came to light after the company last year turned around an almost certain representational election victory by the National Engineers and Professionals Association (NEPA), an affiliate of the United Auto Workers.

Rockwell kept almost 1,000 B-1 division engineers on its payroll after the B-1 was cancelled by President Carter on June 30 last year until the August 15 election. The engineers were laid off the following week.

NEPA officials say that by keeping the engineers on the payroll Rockwell scared its employees out of voting for the union.

Rockwell spokesman Earl Blount says the union charges are "absurd." "We had a certain amount of business that had to be performed. That's what determined who was kept and who was laid off. At the time we were still engineering the No. 4 aircraft.

Waiting for the axe.

Neal Manning, a NEPA organizer, says, however, that Rockwell held the engineers, despite laying off 3,000 blue-collar workers a week after the B-1 cancellation, in order to cut union support.

"This is fact," Manning says, "they held them for six weeks in the plant and, of course, they had all these poor guys in the situation of waiting to see who's going to get their neck cut off next. The union election was pending. Our meetings

at the B-1 Division dropped off tremendously during this period. The only people we had left were the rank-and-file leadership because everybody knew that there had to be another massive layoff."

Manning says he is certain the Air Force must have been supporting the Rockwell campaign to defeat NEPA. "The Air Force held 1,000 people on the payroll, they [Rockwell] had to have an agreement with the Air Force to do it because the money from the B-1 contract wasn't there anymore."

NEPA officials also charge that Rockwell used federal contract funds to finance several hundred anti-union meetings.

After meetings, which lasted up to several hours and were mandatory for thousands of Rockwell employees, according to the union, management instructed the engineers to bill the time spent in the meeting to government contract numbers for the projects they were employed on.

The union has collected affidavits from hundreds of Rockwell engineers, stating that they used the government contract account numbers to bill for the time they spent in the meetings at which management attempted to convince engineers not to support the union.

One engineer who is employed at the Rockwell Space Division in Downey, Calif., stated, "I charged the time I spent at this meeting to the project account number that I was working on at the time—the Space Shuttle Orbiter. I was not given a special charge number for the time I spent at this meeting."

The Pentagon taking a side.

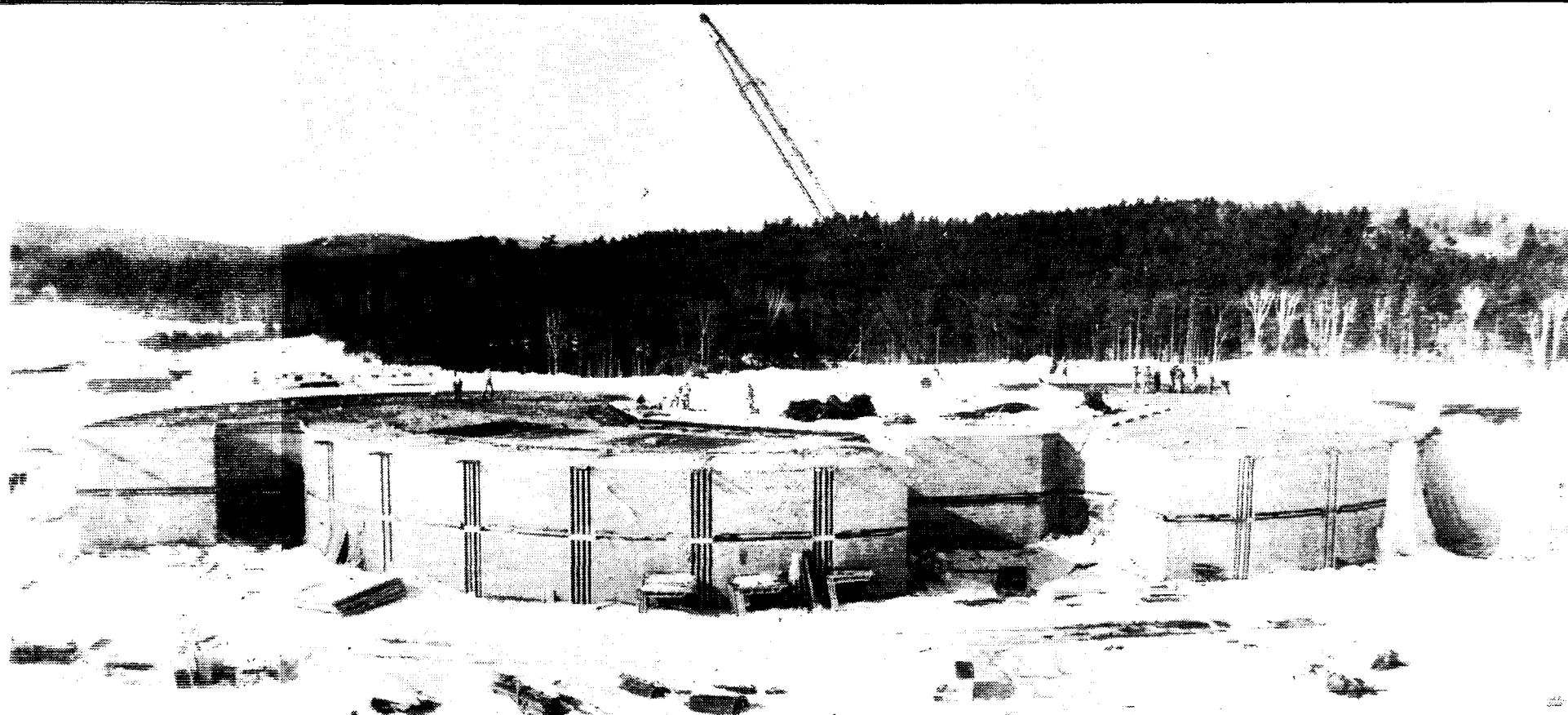
The union believes that in addition to engineering time, Rockwell also charged managerial time spent opposing the union to the government.

NEPA took their case last month to Elmer Strats, U.S. Comptroller General, after the Department of Defense refused to disallow the Rockwell charges on the grounds that the meetings appeared to be legitimate labor relations costs.

A Defense Department memorandum said, "Judged by a standard of reasonableness, an anti-union stance on the part of an employer should not be assumed to be unreasonable. Such an attitude may be taken for a sound business purpose."

"This kind of reasoning is ridiculous," Manning says. "It amounts to the Pentagon taking the side of the employer in a labor dispute."

Continued on page 18.



PRISONS

Prison will be Olympic legacy

By Hub McMahon

ATHLETES FROM ALL OVER the world will come to this country for the 1980 Winter Olympics in Lake Placid, N.Y., to live in a prison. In a remarkable coincidence of interests the Lake Placid Olympic Organizing Committee, scrambling for a federal agency willing to fund housing for the Olympic games, has found that fences and other security measures required to protect athletes nicely mesh Federal Bureau of Prison specifications for a youth prison. So when the athletes leave, the prisoners will move in.

The match is not quite perfect, however. The current guidelines specify that new prisons be built in metropolitan areas, close to social services and the home communities of most offenders. Lake Placid is 350 miles from the nearest major city.

But the unique arrangements between the Bureau of Prisons and the Olympic Committee had other advantages. Because use as a prison was only a "secondary" purpose of the site, it was possible

to secure approval for funding the prison without going through the normal authorization committees in Congress. Approval to divert already apportioned funds for the Olympic prison was quietly secured through a subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee.

Rep. Robert Drinan (D-MA), a member of the Judiciary subcommittee that would normally review new prison construction, only learned of the plans when he ran across them in a newspaper.

Similar shortcuts seem to have been used by Olympic promoters to meet federal environmental impact statements and construction contract bidding requirements for the prison.

To Andy Hall of the National Moratorium on Prison Construction all this makes the Olympic prison a "fantastic symbol" of the way the prison bureaucracy operates. "They will grab any chance to expand," Hall comments.

Expanding all over.

The Olympic prison is only one facet of a massive expansion of the federal and

state prison systems now under way.

The June 1975 Bureau of Prisons master plan called for building 34 new prisons at an estimated cost of \$460 million. This was shaved down from an even more ambitious 66 prisons costing \$670 million.

A recent study by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration reported that state and federal governments plan to spend \$1.4 billion between now and 1982 to increase the national prison capacity by 24 percent, or 62,000 beds, to a high of 325,000.

Federal funding is expected to underwrite a significant amount of this prison construction. Bills offered by Sen. Robert Griffin (R-MI) and Rep. Allen Ertel (D-PA) or by Sen. Joseph Biden (D-DE) propose that the federal government subsidize state prison construction. Biden's bill, with the highest subsidy, calls for \$1.55 billion over a three-year period to help build state prisons.

One reason the Olympic prison, as a symbol of this headlong expansion, is a likely international issue is that the U.S. imprisonment rate is already far higher than that of other Western countries. In

1974 the American rate was 212 in prison per 100,000 population, compared with 18 per 100,000 in Holland, 28 in Denmark and 75 in England.

Ironically, one of the more important victories of the prison reform movement has helped speed new prison construction.

In the 1970s federal courts began active intervention in prison conditions, and found conditions existing in a number of state prison systems, including Alabama and Arkansas, to constitute "cruel and unusual punishment."

The response of legislatures in these states has been massive new programs of prison building to reduce overcrowding, blamed for many of the problems courts have found.

Even in states not yet in trouble in the courts, such as North Carolina, legislatures have adopted new construction programs to meet acknowledged problems. Prison administrators have found that "being under the gun" from the courts has given them unprecedented leverage in lobbying to expand prison systems.

Continued on page 18.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR

Auto unions face protectionist pressure

Charles Rooney

World Automotive Conference delegates were urged not to separate Ford U.S. and Ford Europe.

By Charles Rooney

DETROIT

THE INTERNATIONAL METALworkers Federation (IMF) held its World Automotive Conference in Detroit May 30-June 1. Delegates from all five continents and 25 countries represented more than 13.5 million workers. The biggest and most powerful delegations were from the U.S., West Germany and Japan.

The three-day conference offered a fascinating glimpse into international union dilemmas. The IMF unions are facing the same issues as the multinational firms whose workers they represent, above all free trade vs. protectionism.

Free trade advocates.

At the first day's press conference attention focused on employment, and the leaders of the Big Three countries' unions showed themselves to be free trade advocates, though with considerable differences among them.

Ichiro Shioji, president of the Japanese Auto Workers Union, startled listeners with his matter-of-fact acknowledgment that Japan will probably lose 100,000 jobs as a result of the expected moves by Nissan (Datsun) and Toyota to establish plants in the U.S. Shioji said that the losses were inevitable, and that he would expect greater job loss if they were postponed.

German delegate Hans Mayr, vice president of the German Metalworkers Union (IG Metall), spoke in a similar vein. In the German system of "Mitbestimmung," or co-determination, the union has only one less representative on the boards of directors of large firms than have the companies' stockholders. When Volkswagen decided to build its Rabbit in the U.S., the union concurred. Like the Japanese, the leadership was convinced that if they delayed the competition from abroad would become more severe and the result would be the loss of more jobs. The corporation also assured the union that no jobs will be lost.

The contrast with the American situation was striking. UAW president Doug Fraser complained bitterly that General Motors had violated the promise of "neutrality" toward unionization drives that it had made in the 1976 contract. Fraser claimed that GM has not been neutral toward the unionization of southern plants. He charged that it did not demonstrate the same respect for the right of the union to exist as did Volkswagen in the unionization drive at its new Pennsylvania plant. Fraser cited GM's refusal to transfer employees to the South. According to Fraser, GM fears that these employees will want to unionize.

Fraser reiterated the UAW's view that they were not opposed to the corporations' establishing plants abroad provided that the movement was in both directions.

A realistic note was sounded by IMF secretary-general Herman Rebban, who pointed out that free trade is not a burning issue at the moment because of the relative prosperity of the auto industry internationally. The situation could change dramatically, however, if the position of the automobile industry deteriorates.

Development of a world car.

Consequently, the future health of the automobile industry was of great inter-



Argentine trade unionist Francisco Correa addresses the IMF conference.

est to the gathering. Economist Michael Hinks-Edwards identified factors that have radically transformed the automobile industry internationally in the last two decades: the spectacular rise of the Japanese auto industry; the growth of local assembly/manufacture in developing markets; an increase by 250 percent in the West European car production capacity; and the development of a potentially huge auto industry in the East European bloc nations.

Production of automobiles in Western Europe, North America and Japan has declined from 93 percent of the world's total in the mid-'60s to 70 percent today. Ownership has gone from 88 percent to 83 percent. In spite of this shift, control of the industry will continue to rest with the western industrialized countries, especially those leading the field for the new "world car" market.

The "world car" has developed from the demands for fuel conservation. American producers have begun to design small cars along the lines of the Japanese and Europeans. This trend has creat-

ed conditions for great economies of scale, because now one to two million cars of the same model can be produced for a world market. He sees GM and Ford as clearly the front-runners, because they have balanced strategies.

The irony, according to Hinks-Edwards, is that the Japanese first developed this idea for a big world market but are now in trouble because they failed to recognize that the "world car" must be produced as well as sold world-wide.

Production of the Ford "world car" (code-named Erica) is distributed across continents; major component production is organized into high-volume standardized runs, and the investment and jobs pie has been divided into several pieces, yielding substantial pay-off and ensuring access to important markets.

In spite of the Japanese problems, though, the European companies face the biggest problems, including loss of market to the Japanese and American subsidiaries operating abroad.

According to Hinks-Edwards, unions expect protectionist measures in the auto

industry. In response, they need to look at multinational corporations internationally. Ford Spain, Hinks-Edwards insists, cannot be separated from Ford Europe or Ford U.S.A.

This last point was foremost in the consciousness of those attending. Participants heard of the embattled unionists up against government-supported multinationals in Spain, South Africa and South America.

In Brazil, the largest and most important strike since the 1964 coup was occurring during the conference. The delegates were encouraged by the success of the Brazilian workers in obtaining a 15 percent wage increase and by the apparent impact that the UAW and other international unions had on the settlement.

In its final action program, IMF declared its determination to respond with "rapid and effective assistance to unions engaged in struggle against auto corporations or hostile governments."

Charles Rooney is a professor of community medicine at Wayne State University in Detroit.

Brazilian autoworkers win strike

On Friday, May 12, the morning shift of auto workers showed up as usual at the Saab-Scania plant in the Sao Paulo suburb of Sao Bernardo. The 2,000 workers punched their time cards, proceeded to their work sections, and then refused to start their machines. The stoppage began in the foundry and quickly spread to the entire production line. This was the beginning of what was to be the biggest strike in Brazil since the military coup in 1964.

Between Monday and Wednesday, workers at Ford, Mercedes Benz, Volkswagen, Phillips, and Karman-Ghia joined the strike. On Thursday, the government's Regional Labor Tribunal declared the strike illegal, but it continued to spread to Pirelli, General Motors, Chrysler, Otis Elevators, and Alcan Aluminum.

Within a week, between 20,000 and 30,000 workers were on strike in this area known as ABC, initials for Sao Andre, Sao Bernardo and Sao Caetano. In spite of the flawed structure of Brazil's unions, over 50 percent of all workers in this area are unionized, a figure unequaled anywhere in the capitalist world except Italy. The biggest union is the Metallurgical Workers, which has the most militant ele-

ments of the southern Brazilian working class.

The issue that sparked the widespread work stoppage was the government's new wage adjustment. Every year there is an adjustment to enable workers to keep up with the rate of inflation. For years the government has used this figure as an instrument for capital accumulation by using an artificially low figure, which effectively transferred cruzeiros from workers to their employers.

For years this strategy had been well known and bitterly criticized by the labor movement. But not until last year could they produce an authority which the government could not ignore.

Last September the International Monetary Fund published a report challenging the government's figures for past years. Under pressure, a 5 percent increase was granted in late 1977 and another 10 percent in early 1978.

When the government announced a 39 percent increase in April, many workers thought they would finally begin to get back some of the past years' losses. Instead their checks in May showed that the employers had deducted the previous 15 percent increases. With wages already at

starvation levels in Brazil, the employers' action prompted the strike.

The government's response was uncertain, in itself a sign of the changed political climate both within and outside of Brazil. While the official tribunal ruled the strike illegal and government Finance Minister Simonsen warned employers that any wage increases would have to come out of their profits and not from the consumer, the Justice Ministry pretended nothing was happening.

The government's hesitation may have stemmed from the disrupted state of the presidential succession process and the active role being taken by the international unions, particularly the United Auto Workers. The UAW evidently had an important effect on Ford, which had refused to negotiate for a week and then suddenly agreed to a settlement.

By the end of May, the strikes and slowdowns had achieved some success. In the auto industry, workers won back the 15 percent increase in wages. And probably more important, the workers had flexed their muscle and found they had considerable strength and support, both within their own ranks and from the international unions.

—Charles Rooney

ARGENTINA

Europeans attack bloodthirsty host of the World Cup

The Argentine regime wants to use the World Cup Games to promote an image of stability.



By Diana Johnstone

THE WORLD CUP SOCCER championship matches in Argentina this month have stimulated the biggest protest movement in Western Europe since the Vietnam war. In various European countries, where soccer is by far the most popular spectator sport, committees were formed early this year to demand that the World Cup be held elsewhere than within shouting distance of the Argentine military junta's torture centers. The movement obviously did not attain its proclaimed goal of "boycotting" Argentina, but it has focused public attention on one of the world's most alarming police states.

Left-wing political organizations that have actively denounced repression in other Latin American countries, especially Chile, have largely neglected Argentina. Whereas the Chilean junta in 1973 overthrew a regime that had aroused widespread hopes of democratic transition to socialism, and killed a President, Salvador Allende, who was known and respected around the world, the military leaders who took power in Buenos Aires on March 24, 1976, merely delivered the *coup de grace* to a notoriously incompetent regime already deeply involved in undercover repression. The deposed President, Isabel Peron, was no more than a discredited and manipulated figurehead. At first it seemed to many that things could scarcely get worse.

They got worse, all right, with the banning of all political and trade union activity, censorship, drastic purges of universities and the whole of Argentina's prestigious cultural and intellectual life, unchecked arrests, massacres and "disappearances" not only of leftists and labor militants but of respected defenders of human rights, intellectuals suspected of thinking too much, clergypeople suspected of caring too much, Jews, and hapless refugees from other Latin American countries.

Boycott launched.

The idea of the boycott campaign was launched in France by painter and writer Marek Halter, who lived many years in Argentina. "I know the people who are dying there," he explained. He said he got the idea from a 72-year-old man who had tried, back in 1936, to organize a boycott of the Berlin Olympics to protest against Hitler.

Communist parties have been wary of the campaign for fear it will spur a similar effort to boycott the 1980 Moscow Olympics. The Montoneros and other Argentine political groups in exile opposed the initiative on the grounds that the boycott would isolate the Argentine people. But they have softened their opposition as

it became clear that the effect of the campaign was to open up the press and alert public opinion to the nature of the military regime.

In Spain, Socialist leader Felipe Gonzalez and the entire left backed the campaign. The movement also got Socialist backing and wide support in Sweden and Holland.

In France, the Collective for Boycotting the World Cup in Argentina (COBA) was formed last January by a small Argentine support committee and radical teachers, including a number of physical education teachers incensed at the political misuses of sports. For the public statements of the Argentine generals themselves left no doubt that they saw the World Cup primarily as a way to enhance the international "image" of their bloodthirsty regime. To that end they have hired the American public relations outfit Burson-Marsteller to help them persuade journalists, officials, opinion-makers and above all businessmen in eight countries—the U.S., Canada, Mexico, Japan, Britain, Belgium, Holland and France—that Argentina is "stable" and thus a good bet for investment.

On a par with Nazi sadism.

COBA has grown to 150 committees throughout France, active in collecting and diffusing information about repression in Argentina. A petition for the boycott gathered 100,000 signatures. Demonstrations have been staged in Paris and other cities.

By raising a controversy around a major world sporting event, the boycott campaign has succeeded in making Argentine repression a timely news event, opening up the European press to testimony gathered from refugees or by such organizations as Amnesty International and the Commission for Human Rights in Argentina. Accounts suggesting what has happened to many of the 15,000 people who have "disappeared" are blood-curdling and suggest an organized, technological barbarism on a par with Nazi sadism at its worst. Reports frequently cite the Escuela Mecanica de la Armada (Naval school for training non-coms, EMA) in Buenos Aires, about half a mile from the soccer stadium, whose "Task Force 3-3" made up of 314 men specialize in the notorious abductions of political suspects by "groups of unidentified armed men in civilian clothes."

The torturers at the EMA and other such centers reportedly amuse themselves by practicing various ways of mutilating the human body. The ghastly disfigurements—limbs sawed off without anesthesia, castration, rapes that amount to excavations—explain why so many bodies have been found incinerated and "unrecognizable." Others are dumped out at sea from helicopters, occasionally washing ashore in neighboring Uruguay.

It is almost comforting to learn that several torturers reportedly asked to be assigned to different work after tearing the skin off the face of Peronist revolutionary Jorge Lizaso while he was still alive. Or that in late 1976, eight of a group of 60 EMA death squad members were relieved of duty when it was discovered that they were suffering from hallucinations and beginning to torture their own wives and children.

But many apparently stick to the job without flinching. This corps of specialists, already enriched by the experience of French and American interrogation and "Phoenix program" methods in Algeria and Vietnam, is an on-going threat not only to Argentines but to the whole Western world to which the Argentine



Wearing an executioners' hood, two COBA members carry a banner reading, "For each goal scored, how many assassinations and tortures?"

military establishment belongs.

Nuns were "transferred."

A Christian Peronist bank employees union delegate, Horacio Domingo Maggio, who managed to escape during a transfer from the Escuela Mecanica last March, has written a document in which he recounts having seen the two missing French nuns, Alicia Domon and Leonie Duquet, at the EMA shortly after they were abducted last December. He said he spoke briefly with Sister Alicia, who told him that she and Sister Leonie had been tortured with electric shocks all over their bodies. Word went around the prison that the two women were tortured incessantly for the next ten days and then "transferred"—which everyone took to mean that they had been killed.

The Swedish press has reported that the women's maimed bodies washed ashore near Buenos Aires a short time later.

Mother Superior Marie-Joséphine Catteau of the French Order of Foreign Missions to which the nuns belonged spent several weeks in Argentina vainly seeking information about them. She told French journalists on May 17 that she believed they were dead, but that Argentine authorities did not dare say so. She mentioned that Gen. Jorge Videla himself knew the two Sisters personally, since his daughter had taken part in a camp organized by the Order. But he was no help. She added that last Easter Sunday, 12 more people had been abducted as they came out of mass in Buenos Aires.

The Mother Superior said she doubted that journalists who went to cover the games could find out what was going on in Argentina, since "a few words out of place are enough to land a person in prison, and the mere fact of associating with the underprivileged is considered a subversive act."

Since every country is most concerned about its own people, part of the COBA campaign centered on urging the 22 mem-

bers of the French soccer team to seek information about 22 French citizens, including the nuns, among the thousands of "disappeared." Although resentful of suggestions that they should give up their chances to play in Buenos Aires, several of the French players were touched by the campaign, especially after meeting with relatives of the missing 22. The team's manager, Michel Hidalgo, promised to appeal to Argentine authorities on their behalf, and even told French television that a defeat on this score would be worse than losing the soccer matches.

Two porters hired.

In response to this "campaign mounted abroad by agents of subversion," the General in charge of organizing the World Cup, Antonio Merlo, warned ominously that guerillas would "try to jolt public opinion by some sensational event, such as the kidnapping of a foreign journalist, arranged ahead of time between the terrorists and the journalist." This gave any reporter unduly curious about "disappearances" an inkling of how his own would be explained away.

The foreign press was closely supervised. *Le Monde's* special correspondent, Jean-Pierre Clerc, was searched and interrogated for several hours and sent out of the country. Nevertheless, *Le Monde* and most French newspapers balanced their coverage of the World Cup with detailed articles on the Argentine political situation.

The boycott campaign was slightly marred on May 23 when a couple of individuals with an unloaded gun momentarily tried to "kidnap" Michel Hidalgo, supposedly to persuade him not to go to Buenos Aires. The Anarchist Federation expressed the general reaction when it said the action, immediately condemned by COBA, "seemed more like a provocation than a useful act of solidarity with the Argentine people."

Less attention was attracted a short

Continued on page 10.

JAPAN

Narita airport may never be finished

By Charles Douglas Lummis

T O K Y O

IN A TREMENDOUS DISPLAY OF state power, and with a chilling disregard for the safety of passengers, the Japanese government on May 20 managed to pry open the New Tokyo International Airport at Narita.

To accomplish this opening—postponed 12 times over 12 years by the fierce opposition of local farmers—the government rammed through a new law that virtually suspends the Constitution in the Narita area. It also had steel plates driven into the ground around the airport to prevent tunneling in, brought in 13,000 riot police with a rifle company and attack dogs, forbade all but actual passengers with tickets from entering the terminal, and put in a request to Interpol to watch for suspicious passengers headed for Narita from anywhere in the world.

No one was surprised that the airport could be opened under these martial law conditions. The question now is, how long can it be kept open? An airport is a public place, not a fortress, and there is no way that the public can be permanently kept out. There is no way that it can continue to operate in the midst of a bitterly hostile community. And there is no reason to expect the opposition of the farmers and their radical supporters to lessen now that the airport is open.

On the day of the opening, of the many violent attacks on the gates of the airport and on nearby radar and power facilities, one was particularly noteworthy. A secret underground coaxial cable for the Tokyo Air Control Center was cut in three places, blacking out the entire air control system in the Tokyo area for nine hours and causing the cancellation of 119 flights at Haneda Airport. Police and communications officials suspect an inside job, and point out that radical groups claim 3,000 sympathizers working for government enterprises and public corporations.

Despite the virtually limitless potential for this kind of sabotage the government—which had earlier stated that the “prestige of the state” was at issue—went ahead with the opening, and at this writing, planeload after planeload of unsuspecting passengers is being brought in from all over the world.

Japan Inc.

Narita embodies a host of key issues in Japan today. In 1966, when the government suddenly announced that it had chosen Sanrizuka, in Narita, as the site for the new international airport, the farmers there angrily formed the Sanrizuka-Shibayama Opposition League, and vowed that they would never allow the airport to be built. Their initial desire was to hold on to their property, and they were angry that they had not been consulted.

When the government offered flattery and big money for their land, many took it and dropped out of the League. Those who refused found themselves standing directly in the path of an advancing juggernaut—the great economic, political and military apparatus called Japan, Inc.

Since then they have broadened their attack against the airport. Studying the airport, they claim it has deep connections with Japan-U.S. military policy: much of the initial “overcrowding” at the International Airport at Haneda was due to its use for American troop movements during the war in Vietnam; the distant Narita site was chosen because most of the airspace over Tokyo is controlled by the U.S. Air Force and Japan Air Self Defense Force. Narita itself will have military uses.

They also speak of the airport’s connections with Japan’s growing economic domination of other Asian countries: much of the air traffic will be businessmen and tourists flying to South Korea, Taiwan, and Southeast Asia, as well as



May 20 demonstrator sets afire a power supply distributor for airport police.

the popular all-male tours through the brothels of poorer countries.

“Mussolini modern.”

But perhaps most important of all, some of the farmers see the airport struggles as a clash between two different modes of economic development.

They see displacing their farm village with an international airport as part of a larger strategy by Japan’s rulers virtually to do away with the agricultural sector and transform the nation into an industrial park. Between 1960 and 1975 the agricultural population was reduced from 12 to 5.9 million. In the same period 2.72 million acres of farm land were transformed into industrial parks or recreational areas for city people. By 1975 only 12 percent of all farm families lived exclusively by agriculture. Typically, the women do the farming while the men go to the city as day laborers.

During the same period Japan’s food self-sufficiency dropped from 90 percent to 74 percent, and its grain self-sufficiency from 83 percent to 43 percent.

Historically Japan has been an agricultural country; its best and most promising cultural traditions find their roots in the agricultural countryside.

Nothing could be more striking than the contrast between the dreary futurism of the airport (the style Norman Mailer called Mussolini Modern) and the rich, fertile, infinitely varied environment produced through generations of labor by the farmers of the surrounding countryside. In their proud and graceful old houses, their marvellously tailored and terraced fields, their carefully trained hedges, their flower and vegetable gardens, one can see an intricate interweaving of tradition and mechanization, craft and science.

If the farmers lose, they believe their culture will be destroyed.

Airport’s future dim.

But even if overwhelming police power manages to keep the airport operating, its future is dim. The airport itself is nowhere near completion. No dependable way has been found yet to get jet fuel in:

the pipeline was stopped by local opposition and the plan to ship it in by rail is threatened by the opposition of the local railway workers’ union. No solution has been found to the problem of transportation into Tokyo: it is predicted that during crowded periods the trip may take as much as four hours.

But most important, only one of the three runways planned is now completed, which means that whenever there are crosswinds—which there sometimes are at Narita—the airport will have to be shut down. At its present incomplete stage, pilots describe Narita as a “local airport, not an international one.”

The cost of Phase I of the construction has been tremendous: an estimated \$4 billion, 7,000 wounded, 3,000 arrested, and five killed. Phase II is still on the drawing boards; not all of the 1,272 acres needed for it has been obtained. And on that very land, cultivating their farms, are 21 families who are members of the Opposition League.

Charles Douglas Lummis teaches at Tsuda College in Tokyo.

World Cup protests

Continued from page 9.

time earlier when a group calling itself the “AAA,” after the notorious Argentine death squad, tried to prevent the Anarchist Federation from holding a meeting on Argentina in Bordeaux, attacking and wounding the Federation’s secretary in the street and breaking into his apartment and wrecking it. The ultra-right Nationalist Front used the absurd May 23 incident to demand police protection for French soccer players “against ultra-left terrorists.”

The impact of the campaign showed up in a small way when two porters at the Meurice Hotel in Paris got fired for refusing to carry the suitcases of a group of Argentine Army officers who had come to town to shop for their favorite French luxury goods—that is, weapons. The porters were praised by Francois Mitterrand and other political leaders.

The porters’ spur-of-the-moment and costly act (they lost \$14,000-a-year jobs) helped publicize the fact that France is the junta’s second-biggest arms supplier after the U.S., and apparently ready to try for first place since the U.S. cut off arms sales because of human rights violations. This fact suggests a future focus

for a COBA boycott campaign on a tougher issue than football.

But the thorniest issue of all, still largely neglected, is the enthusiastic support accorded the Videla regime by the international business community. The International Monetary Fund has lavished credits on Argentina. Chase Manhattan Bank president David Rockefeller recently extolled the regime’s economic “miracle” at a premiere showing in New York’s Metropolitan Club last November of an 80-minute film, *Images of Argentina*, largely financed by Bunge and Born, the big transnational grain dealers that dominate Argentine agriculture.

Rockefeller scarcely exaggerated in describing as a “miracle” an economic policy that sacrifices almost all of Argentina’s national interests—its domestic industry, its workers’ wages and job security, its welfare state measures—to the limited but powerful interests of the grain-exporting oligarchy and the multinational corporations and banks. Argentina is an IMF and Rockefeller favorite because it is going farthest fastest in restructuring its entire economy to suit a “new international division of labor” that virtually eliminates the nation as a decision-

making unit on major economic questions. It is a leading paradox of the ‘70s that “ultra-nationalist” military dictatorships are being installed to police drastic economic overhauls determined by foreign interests.

The “miracle’s” architect, Economy Minister Jose Martinez de Hoz, forthrightly told a Business International seminar in Buenos Aires last April that only a military regime could enforce the economic policies they all love so well.

The Argentine press reported that some 100 top business leaders from “trilateral” countries were promised by Labor Minister Gen. Horacio Tomas Liendo, in the course of their ten-day hush-hush “roundtable with the Argentine government,” that “politicization of union life is a thing of the past that will be wiped out.”

The Minister of the Interior, Gen. Albano Harguindeguy, assured them that the promised “dialogue” with civilians “did not mean restoration of political activity.”

“Stability” was the watchword. Argentina is being made safe for foreign investment. A spokesman for business leaders at the forum expressed appreciation that “the military reorganization process that began on March 24, 1976, opens up investment and business opportunities for international firms that will not be wasted.”

"WE 'VE HEARD THE VOICES AND SEEN THE BLOOD"

By John Judis

TO ROCK'N'ROLL FANS, TUPELO IS known as Elvis Presley's birthplace. The two-room shack he grew up in is preserved next to Elvis Presley Park, right off Elvis Presley Drive. On nice weekends hundreds of tourists pass through its portals at 50¢ a visit.

To corporate heads and labor union officials, Tupelo means something else. Located in northeastern Mississippi, Tupelo is nourished by the TVA, the potential of the Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway and by a low-wage, non-unionized labor force that has grown rapidly in the last ten years. Multinationals like Rockwell International and FMC have set up shop there. The AFL-CIO has made Tupelo the headquarters of its Deep South organizing drive. Bright new shopping malls have sprung up along Main Street, which runs the length of Tupelo. The population, 20,000 in 1970, is now an estimated 28,000.

On Saturday, June 10, however, Tupelo was confrontation central for a new phase of the civil rights movement in the South. The United League, a black civil rights organization that has been fighting against police brutality and for a black share in Tupelo's newfound prosperity, called a rally for the same time and place as the Invisible Empire of the Ku Klux Klan.

Before the day was over, a cross had been burnt, three people had been arrested, a minister had been roughed up by the police, and a black Justice Department official had thrown his tape recorder and several well-aimed punches at a local racist. Also, the United League had emerged as a wave of the future, while the Klan appeared as a troublesome ripple from the past.

* * *

Like other urban black movements, the one in Tupelo was sparked by police brutality. In July 1976 a black man, Eugene Pasto, was arrested on a check forgery charge while driving with a white woman.

Over a weekend, Pasto signed six confessions and six waivers of his rights. Sent to prison in Atlanta, Pasto claimed that two Tupelo police captains, Dale Cruber and Roy Sandefer, extracted the confessions through a merciless beating. Pasto sued them in civil court, and in January 1978 the court held that they were guilty and fined them each \$2,500. (In the two policemen's defense, the city had maintained that Pasto had poured salt in his own eyes.)

Sandefer and Cruber were suspended from the police force for two weeks while a police committee investigated their conduct. It found that they had done nothing criminal, and they were reinstated. At this point, the United League, headquartered in neighboring Holly Springs, stepped in to organize a protest in Tupelo.

The United League demanded that, in addition to firing the two policemen, the city and local businessmen enact an affirmative action program that would raise the percentage of blacks in Tupelo's workforce to their percentage in Tupelo's population. (The League estimates this as 30 percent.) They also demanded that Tupelo's schools hire black teachers and administrators, and that the police and fire departments be fully integrated, including the supervisory level.

On March 23, in response to the League's protests, the city demoted Cruber and Sandefer to lieutenants and transferred them to the fire department. Seeing this as no concession the League called the next day for a boycott of downtown businesses.

**"THE CHURCH IS HERE,"
ROBINSON TOLD THE
PARISHONERS, POUNDING
HIS HEART WITH HIS FIST.**

IN MID-APRIL THE CITY FORCED Cruber and Sandefer to resign from the police department. The Klan then came to Tupelo, reputedly at the request of local followers, to fight the League and to force the city to reinstate the policemen. They held local rallies in April and early May and announced a major "national rally" for June 10.

The League then called a rally of its own for that day.

On May 9 the city banned public demonstrations by either organization, but a judge overruled the order.

The city also requested a federal investigation of the federally-funded Northern Mississippi Rural Legal Services, one of whose lawyers, Lewis Myers, was the League's chief counsel. The League responded by adding the withdrawal of the request to its list of demands.

* * *

The United League was formed in 1968, inspired by police brutality in Holly Springs. In recent years, its main cause has been affirmative action for blacks in

the booming towns of northeast Mississippi and southwest Tennessee. In Holly Springs and Corinth, Miss., and in Ripley, Tenn., it is involved in struggles similar to that in Tupelo. Its founder and president, Alfred "Skip" Robinson, a Holly Springs contractor, claims 60,000 members in Mississippi and 5,000 in Tennessee.

Robinson is a man of unusual intensity. Like other southern civil rights leaders, it's difficult to tell where his religion ends and his politics begin. I went to Tupelo a week before the planned confrontation to meet Robinson. As we stood in front of the League's Holly Springs office on a quiet, sunny Sunday morning, Robinson explained the League's purpose.

"We're talking about going beyond integration," he said. "We're talking about justice for all. Integration has failed. We move into the white neighborhoods, they move into the suburbs, and we're left with the costs. They integrate the schools, and we lose all our black teachers and principals. We lose our black identity and pride."

Robinson does not want to abandon integration, but to obtain integration with justice. "Justice for all" is the League's slogan. He wants the workforce of Tupelo and other towns to reflect the proportion of town blacks not only in the number of workers, but in levels of authority and responsibility. He wants black principals, store managers, police captains and bankers, as well as black janitors and laborers.

Later that morning, I accompanied Robinson as he visited black churches to obtain their parishoners' support for the next week's march. Robinson is highly critical of most black ministers. "Most ministers have nothing but shout to offer," he said. "You go around black neighborhoods, and see women walking the streets, crime everywhere, nobody with a job, and you see a church steeple at every corner. You know something is wrong with the church."

Robinson put it a different way when he talked to the congregation at a Tupelo Baptist church. "This church is just an old building. The church is *here*," he told the parishoners, pounding his heart with his fist. "And the church is on the streets of Tupelo."

* * *

Some Tennessee Confederate soldiers established the Klan in 1865. Over the years, it has ebbed, only to revive during new periods of racial conflict.

It appeared to be dead by the 1880s,

but in 1915, William Joseph Simmons revived it. By 1925 it had claimed five million members throughout the country and was a major political force in the South and several northern states. Simmons described it as a "high-class, mystic, social patriotic society."

It was, above all, anti-black, continually pressing for American blacks to return to Africa; but it was also anti-semitic, anti-Catholic, and anti-immigrant. A secret organization, it got its way through lynchings, tar-and-featherings, crossburnings and other forms of extralegal intimidation.

The Klan declined in the '30s and was formally disbanded in 1944 to avoid federal tax charges. But in the wake of white resistance to the civil rights movement, it was revived in the late '50s, albeit in several different forms: the United Klan, the Knights of the Klan, the Invisible Empire of the Klan. By 1965 total Klan membership was estimated at 40,000, and during the '60s the Klan was credited with numerous bombings and murders.

But in the '70s, with Southern acquiescence in integration, the Klan entered a new decline. Its membership was recently estimated at 2,000. The Klan has seized upon Tupelo in hopes of reviving itself.

In the May issue of the *Klansman*, Imperial Wizard Bill Wilkinson called on Klan members to come for a showdown with the United League on June 10. The day before the march Klan officials predicted 500 Klan members would show up.

**"WE SHOULD HAVE HAD A
SECOND CIVIL WAR A FEW
MONTHS AGO AND KILLED
SOME OF THEM."**

CONFRONTATION SATURDAY WAS bright, clear and hot—a day to parch the skin of a pale Northerner. On Tupelo's Main Street, merchants stood expectantly in front of their stores, while hooded men handed out *The Klansman* to white passersby.

A report in the *Lee County News*, Tupelo's principal weekly, had challenged the effectiveness of the downtown boycott, but the storeowners indicated otherwise. "We're known not to tell the truth when it hurts," D.M. Plowmale, the owner of the Debs Dollar Store, told me. With a business dependent on black customers,

Plowmale's was down by as much as 50 percent.

Plowmale was bitter. "We should have had a second civil war a few months ago and killed some of them," he said, referring to members of the League.

Felix Black, the owner of Black's Department Store, and president of local business association, also confirmed the damage done by the boycott, although he denied that his own store "was off a large percent." Black was most fearful about the conflict's effect on corporate plans to move to Tupelo or to expand existing facilities. "We have industries that hesitate to expand," he said.

Black claimed that the downtown merchants had done "everything feasible" to meet the League's demands. The previous week they had offered a black hiring program in their stores if the League would call off their boycott, but the League had refused because the offer didn't touch on city or industrial employment, nor on the request for an investigation of Northern Mississippi Legal Services.

Both marches had originally been scheduled to converge at the County courthouse at 2:00 p.m. for a rally. The prospect of the Klan and the United League sharing the same podium inspired the city's mayor, Clyde Whitaker, to ask for the National Guard and state troopers and to place the city's 65 policemen on duty. But early Saturday the League announced it would begin its march and rally early, and the police didn't permit the Klan to march until the League had left the courthouse.

"AND IF SOMEONE SHOULD TAKE MY LIFE OR THE LIFE OF OTHER LEADERS, LET BLOOD RAIN."

THE LEAGUE MARCH WOUND FROM the Springhill Baptist Church through Tupelo's black community to the courthouse. Led by a Datsun pickup with two rifles visible on its gunrack, some 600 marchers walked five abreast in a procession stretching three blocks. Tupelo police, with their "Tupelo, City of Southern Hospitality" emblems on their sleeves, lined the route with shotguns poised.

The Reverend Donald Jenkins, a Tupelo native who is the League's official minister, was ecstatic. "There's never been anything like this in Tupelo before," he said. "It's the first time Tupelo has ever gotten off its knees."

Joe Thomas, the head of the Tupelo NAACP, was among the marchers. He said he supported the movement, but not the boycott. He wouldn't say why, but I realized later that after losing a \$1.5 million anti-boycott suit in Port Gibson, Miss., the NAACP was not about to get involved in another boycott.

Thomas confirmed the League's charges of discrimination. Many businesses and jobs in Tupelo were "lily-white," he said, and few blacks were in positions of authority.

When I asked a local reporter about job discrimination, he also affirmed the League's charges. He disagreed with the League's estimate of a 30 percent black population in Tupelo, but remarked that many areas had no black employees. "Have you been downtown?" he asked. "Did you see any blacks working there?"

The courthouse rally was a spirited mixture of politics and religion. Sister Gray and her gospel quartet led off with a rousing "Help me Jesus to run this race." Rev. Jenkins followed with a prayer that included a "blessing for the mayor who has lost his way and allowed the Klansmen to become mayor."

Lee County League head Walter Stanfield then introduced "some people who God sent to Tupelo," League coordinator Howard Gunn, who is president of a vocational college in West Point, Miss., and League president "Skip" Robinson.

"We've come here because we've heard the voices and seen the blood," Gunn said. He warned the Klan "not to take it for cowardice that we are marching peacefully."

Surveying the crowd that had now swelled to a thousand, Robinson said he

had "asked the Lord to send me a thousand people, black and white. And Jesus has answered my prayer."

Robinson, who other League members already regard as a future martyr, brushed back fears of his death. "If you haven't discovered something worth dying for," he said, "you're not fit to live. I believe that when you walk on that last day, God'll ask you, 'What did you do when the Klan was attacking black people?' and if you say, 'Nothing,' he'll say, 'There's no room in this hotel.'"

"I'll be in Tupelo until justice comes down like rain," Robinson said. "And if someone should take my life or the life of other leaders, let blood rain."

"LOOK AT OUR CIVILIZATION AND LOOK AT THEIRS. DO YOU WANT THE U.S. TO BE LIKE ANGOLA?"

AS THE LEAGUE'S RALLY ENDED, the Klan gathered for its march at lot of an East Main St. shopping mall. Its route would be directly down Main Street.

I could count only 38 robed Klansmen in the parking lot. The Tupelo Klansmen wore hoods to protect their identity, but the rest could be seen.

They were a strange lot. There were hard, grizzled, middle-aged types who looked like they had been through a few lynchings, kids with beards who could pass for hippies on Berkeley's Telegraph Avenue, and thin, sallow young men who might be bank clerks.

I talked to an obese young Klansman from Birmingham, who was wearing a Klan insignia. He couldn't afford a robe, he said. He told me he had joined the Klan four years ago, while working as a gas station attendant.

According to him, a black co-worker was robbing the till, and he was having to make up the missing money. Then he heard of this organization that "stood up for white rights."

He had expected the Klan to be a "terrorist lynching organization," as the media portrayed it, but he found it to be very different. "It's a cause," he said. "A political cause."

Bill Wilkinson, the imperial wizard, was also in the parking lot, with the pants of his grey linen suit and his allegator loafers pointing out from underneath his white robe. "We decided not to call in too many people," Wilkinson said in explaining the attendance. "We felt the people of Tupelo could account for it themselves."

Several hundred Tupelo whites did line Main Street as the Klan marched to the courthouse. Like the Klansmen, the spectators were a mixed lot. T-shirts, beer bellies, seersucker suits, starched halter tops and shorts, dresses, and overalls cheered together as the Klansmen, their Confederate flags waving in the wind, wended their way to the courthouse.

The Klan rally began peacefully, but it almost turned into the riot city officials had expected from the League.

After a ragged rendition of "Dixie," in which the Klansmen on the courthouse steps kept forgetting the words, Mississippi Grand Dragon Douglas Coen, who works as a foreman in a nuclear submarine plant on the Mississippi coast, walked to stage center. He was flanked by Klansmen that one reporter had seen with rifles under their robes.

"We have thwarted the black movement in Tupelo," Coen boasted. "That is something that has not been done for 15 years. You may be the people to make whites throughout the U.S. realize they are the majority." From the crowd there were shouts of "go whites."

Bill Wilkinson explained the Klan's beliefs. "We believe that whites are the superior race," he said. "Look at our civilization and look at theirs. Do you want the U.S. to be like Angola?"

He heaped scorn upon black demands for affirmative action in the name of equal rights. "This is not equal rights," he said. "It is preferential treatment for an ungrateful and unqualified minority."

He told the audience that they were members of a new "civil rights movement

for white people. This crowd is small, but it is strong and symbolic."

At this point, David Ohmes, a white minister from the nearby Glen Mary Home Missionary Society, took exception to Wilkinson's remarks. "You symbolize hatred," he yelled at Wilkinson from the crowd. "How can you call yourselves Christians?" As the Klan supporters began to clench their fists, Wilkinson motioned to some Klansmen to go silence the heckler.

They jumped him and had him on the ground when the Tupelo police forced their way through the crowd, pushed aside the Klansmen, and gave Ohmes a little of their own medicine as they dragged him to an awaiting police van. When Susan Pearson, IN THESE TIMES' photographer, tried to photograph the police roughing up Ohmes, a Tupelo policeman pushed her away with his shotgun. Another reporter, Joe Shapiro of the Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, came to Pearson's defense, and when he followed the police down to the van with his camera, they arrested him and later charged him with conspiracy to incite riot.

Wilkinson called for the crowd, which had begun surging toward Ohmes, to remain calm, but only the sirens of the departing police van finally calmed the crowd. Wilkinson quickly ended his speech by urging everyone to attend that night's rally and cross-burning at the Natchez Trace Convention Center.

But the trouble had just begun. I was sitting in the small waiting room of the Tupelo jail with other reporters, when Fred Crawford, a black Justice Department representative who had come to Tupelo earlier in the week to mediate between the League and the city, came in to see what had happened to Ohmes and Shapiro.

As Crawford tried the waiting room door to the jail's inner sanctum, an older white man entered the waiting room behind him. "Look at the goddamn nigger," he said to Crawford. When Crawford turned around and asked him what he had said, he repeated it and reached into his pocket for a chain.

Crawford threw his taperecorder at the man's head. It missed and went through the glass entrance to the jail, sending glass cascading onto the sidewalk. Then he threw several good hard rights at the retreating man until the police burst into the room and stopped the fight. The police grabbed only Crawford until they realized he was a Justice Dept. official.

The man who called Crawford a "nigger" turned out to be the father of Dale Cruber, one of the policemen who had been forced to resign. As the police drove the press out of the waiting room and across the street, I saw Roy Sandefer, the other policeman who had been forced to resign, joking with the officers.

Mona Sharpe, the publisher of the *Lee County News*, confirmed suspicions that were beginning to accumulate. Yes, she said, several Tupelo policemen, including Cruber and Sandefer, were probably Klansmen. Cruber had spoken at an earlier Klan rally and had given a Hitler salute to the assembled throng.

"WE PREDICTED THE KLAN WOULD COME IN. EVERYTHING WE PREDICTED HAS COME TO PASS."

THE KLAN RALLY AND THE incident at the police station had revealed something of Tupelo's racist underside and of the resentment and anger that the League's actions had inspired among many Tupelo whites. League members I talked to thought the civil rights movement of the '50s and '60s had simply passed Tupelo by and that it is now witnessing the same conflicts that occurred earlier at Meridian or Selma or Birmingham. But Mona Sharpe had a more pessimistic interpretation.

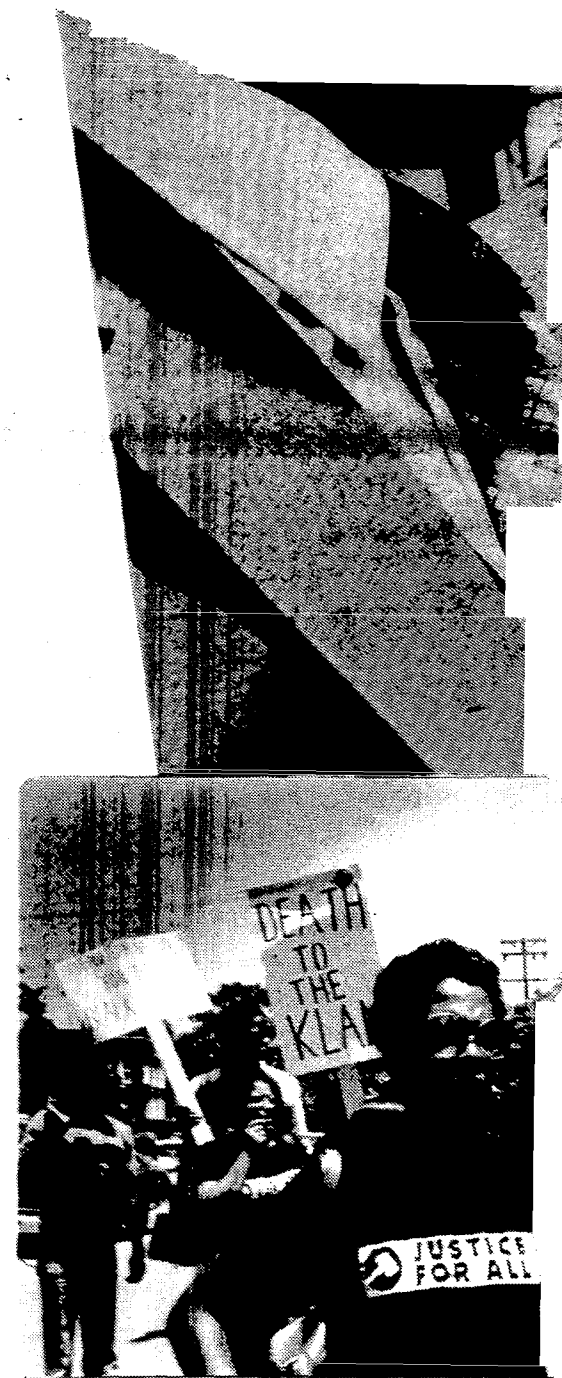
"I don't think Tupelo's any different from the rest of Mississippi," she said. "It's probably no different from the rest of the country either. When the Klan comes out, people start thinking of lynching."

Sharpe believes in an American pluralism held together by force and power.

It was not that Tupelo was less racist than Chicago or Jackson, but that at certain times in certain places the power of blacks or of the federal government would be sufficient to effect change and silence the opposition. But opposition remained beneath the surface, ready to explode.

I don't agree fully with either Sharpe or the League. I believe the Klan has come to Tupelo and white resentment has boiled because Tupelo is different from much of America. But it is not different in having been untouched by the civil rights

THE POLICE: When David Ohmes shouted hatred. How can you call yourself a nigger? Several Klansmen jumped him. The Klansmen. They appeared to be him away. Susan Pearson took the



movement of the '60s. Tupelo's schools are far more integrated than Chicago's. It is different because under the impetus of Sunbelt industrialization and the League, it has entered a new stage of the civil rights movement—one that Robinson correctly describes as going "beyond integration."

The Klan rally that night indicated that the Klan had still not fully caught on in Tupelo. There were only 100 natives in the large convention hall. It reminded me of many recent political rallies with one speaker after another trying to pump enthusiasm into themselves and into a sparse listless crowd. Before it was time to light the cross, some of the 100 Tupelo residents had quietly filed out.

For a lover of Elvis and rock'n'roll, the rally also had its bitter ironies. Jerry

Photographs by Susan Pearson



out, "You symbolize Christians?" at the Klan's. Then the Tupelo police pushed away, laughing him up before and then as they dragged photos of the police as they were shoving her back.



THE LEAGUE: Above, United League President "Skip" Robinson (second from left) confers before the march with Rev. Donald Jenkins. Left, a marcher with a t-shirt that bears the official League motto.



THE KLAN: Above, a Klanswoman poses in her robe at the evening rally at the Natchez Trace Inn Convention Center. No Klanswomen had appeared in their robes at the earlier afternoon march and rally. Upper right, Mississippi Grand Dragon Douglas Coen speaks to the sparse crowd at the evening rally. His official seal graces the podium. Lower right, Imperial Wizard Bill Wilkinson tries to explain to *In These Times* reporter John Judis why only 38 of 500 previously expected Klan members had shown up for the march.



Pitts and his country rock band led off with "Hello Josephine, How do you do?" a song that came right out of Chuck Berry. Berry was a black singer who, along with Elvis, spawned that magical cross fertilization of black and white music that became rock'n'roll. Did Jerry Pitts understand this? I doubt it.

Even less so did Doug Coen. "Their culture and our culture are different," Coen announced from the stage. "Our culture has given the world science, technology, space travel and music. The blacks have their culture--it's spear-chucking and soul music."

To awaken the crowd, the Klan speakers tried to outdo each other in racist ranting. "The Negro's brain is smaller than a hummingbird's," Karl Miller proclaimed. "Their aspirations are low," Bill Wil-

kinson explained. "All the basic Negro wants is a warm place to stay, a little wine, and some women."

As the Klan members led the remaining audience outside to witness the cross lighting, I asked a young woman who was covering the woman for Tupelo TV what she thought of the proceedings. "I'm really sorry this is happening to our town," she said.

Before leaving Tupelo, I went to see Skip Robinson and Lewis Myers at the League office. Myers is tall, scholarly looking, with wire-rimmed glasses. He seems the sophisticated agnostic in a group given to mixing politics and religion.

When I asked him what the march and rally had accomplished, he said, "It is important for black people to take a more aggressive posture against this kind of

racism. Ten years ago you wouldn't have gotten black people to stand up against the Klan. But now each time the Klan has done something, we've stood up."

Myers sees in the League a departure from Martin Luther King's non-violence. "I grew up in a generation that said, 'Don't challenge that. Let God take care of that,'" Myers said. "That was the generation that Martin led. He elevated non-violence from a tactic to a philosophy. It came to have a sanctity."

Myers thinks blacks must defend themselves. "The Klan took it to another level," he said. "If a Klansman fires a shotgun, he'll get shot."

Robinson entered the room while I was talking to Myers. He was jubilant. "In the beginning of the movement, we told people what they'd be confronted with,"

he said. "We predicted that the Klan would come in. Everything we predicted has come to pass."

I asked Robinson what he predicted for the future. "Next week, the white people will begin to negotiate," he said. "Everything they've tried to do, the movement has grown stronger."

Was he right? Holly Springs had recently agreed to negotiate with the League, and head Tupelo merchant Felix Black had seemed ready to break. But it was still hard to imagine many of Tupelo's white citizenry, their hearts bent on revenge rather than reconciliation, permitting their city government to accede to the League's wishes.

The League will win, it seemed to me, but it will not happen the next week or even the week after. ■

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

The poor get poorer, the rich go to school

The House of Representatives voted (237-158) for tax credits up to \$250 on private college tuitions and (209-194) up to \$100 on private elementary and secondary school tuitions.

The action smacks of a demagogic, perhaps panic-ridden, attempt to placate middle and upper income voters, and parochial school interests in an election year. It is demagogic because, as the legislators must know, the measure violates the constitutional principle of the separation of church and state. (The majority of private lower schools are parochial.) Court rulings have made this clear beyond cavil and Attorney General Griffin Bell has so advised Congress. As the legislators also know, President Carter will veto the measure—if he sticks to his promises for a change—and its backers have nowhere near the votes to override a veto.

As President Carter said in his declaration of intent to veto, such tuition tax credits would in effect become the largest

federal outlay for education, and would aid the affluent and wealthy most, middle and lower income families with children in public schools not at all. (The Congressional Budget Office estimates that

fed in this year's elections, would intensify.

The public schools would become even more than now the inferior educational facilities for the non-white and poor; the

Tuition tax credits for private education would end all pretense that the educational system serves equalitarian purposes.

families with incomes over \$20,000 would grab 78 percent of the college credits.)

The impact on public elementary and secondary schools, moreover, would be devastating. Their already underfunded and deteriorating condition would only get worse as they lost more students to tax-subsidized private schools. The loss of students would bring a further drain of public funding allocated on a per pupil basis. The tendency to starve the public schools of tax funds, so strongly mani-

private schools the vehicles of privilege sanctioned by public law and subsidy. The American educational system is already stratified by class and race and is an agency of sustaining such stratification. Passage of the tuition tax credit would end all pretense that America's educational system serves the purposes of a democratic and equalitarian society.

President Carter's promise to veto the tax credit, should Congress pass it, is admirable and should be supported. But it

doesn't go far enough. With voter rejection of state and local taxes and revenue bonds for public education, there will have to be more federal support and funding. There ought also to be federal tax credits for tuition payments to public colleges by families with incomes under \$25,000, and for that portion of state and local taxes going to fund public education.

Such measures will require higher taxes on the corporations and the rich, and a healthy full employment economy to avoid loss of federal revenues and higher deficits. It will in the last analysis also require transferring funds from wasteful military expenditures.

Otherwise we will continue to dishonor the traditional American commitment to quality public education recognized as necessary to equal opportunity and a more democratic society. We've already learned we can't have "guns and butter." Nor can we have guns and books. ■

Sadat's "democracy": Open doors, closed minds

In justifying last month's referendum "legitimizing" suppression of civil liberties and press freedom in Egypt, President Anwar el-Sadat said that dissenters should take a lesson in national unity from the Israelis, who rallied to the support of their Prime Minister Menachem Begin against American pressures for greater flexibility in Middle Eastern affairs.

There are two things wrong with Sadat's homily. First, Israeli civil liberties and press freedom remain intact and vigorously exercised. It is Israeli democracy, not its suppression, that contributes powerfully to national pride and strength, while giving free rein to criticism, dissent, and proposals for new policies and even a new government. If Sadat is looking for a genuine parallel, he might say that

as Israel restricts Arab liberties in the occupied territories, so his government will suppress Arab liberties in Egypt.

Second, Sadat's anti-democratic measures have nothing to do with the conflict with Israel. Rather, they have mostly to do with arrangements his government is making for cooperation with the West.

Egyptian envoys are now in Paris seeking \$20 billion for debt financing and development from lending agencies of 13 nations gathered under the auspices of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. With a G.N.P. of \$14 billion, Egypt has \$12 billion in long-term foreign debt and several billions more in short term obligations. Loans of \$3.5 billion from these agencies in 1977 went to pay debt arrears and for food imports,

with nothing left for development. The banks demanded terms, including the end of food subsidies, that led to riots in January 1977. Sadat blamed these on the Communists.

This time around, the banks are demanding stiffer terms; for example, controls over Egyptian fiscal policy, greater freedom for foreign capital, fewer subsidies for domestic industry, and higher taxes.

"All these measures," as Youssef M. Ibrahim notes in the *New York Times* (June 14), "would mean a continued rise in domestic prices [the annual inflation rate has been over 20 percent since 1974], but with continued pressure for wage restraints." Sadat's open door for foreign capital since he closed the door on the

Russians in 1974, notes Ibrahim, "has yet to show...material benefits...[for] the Egyptian people, save for the gleaming Mercedes-Benz...driven by Egypt's new merchant class..."

It is no surprise that Sadat's policies are under attack both from workers and national bourgeois elements on the left and traditionalists on the right. In cracking down on democratic liberties (which were already substantially restricted), Sadat is preparing to deal with even sharper social conflict that must inevitably arise upon consummation of a deal with western finance.

What that deal has to do with "social peace, national unity, and socialist democracy," in the name of which Sadat justifies the crackdown, is impossible to fathom. Another Mystery of the Sphinx. ■

Fighting the Nazis by practicing democracy

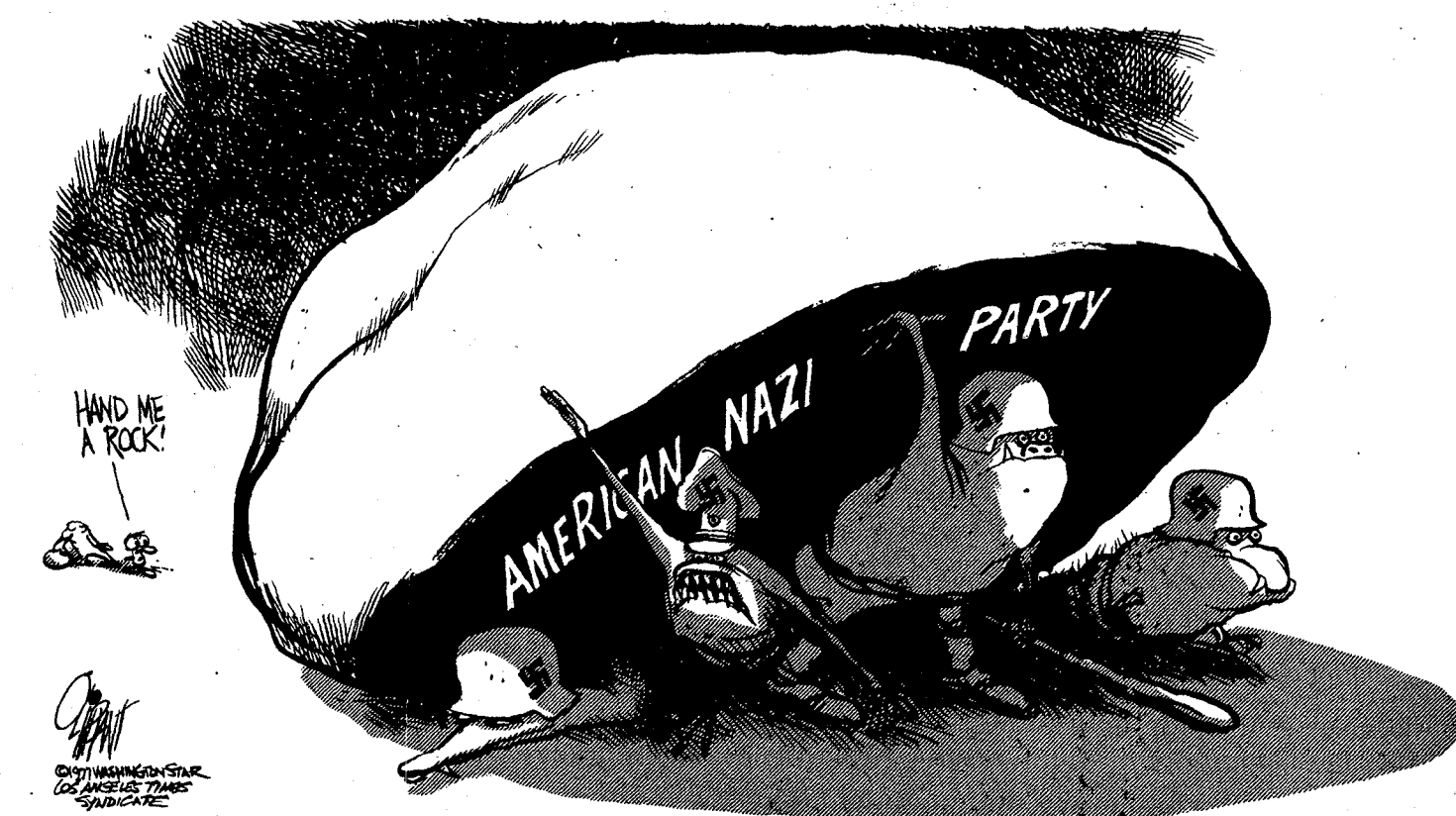
In the face of the Nazi march scheduled June 25 in the Chicago suburb of Skokie, plans are underway for counter-demonstrations in Chicago and Skokie June 24 and 25. Thousands of people of all faiths, ethnic and racial origins, and political beliefs are expected to demonstrate solidarity against Nazism.

Nazi maneuvers in Illinois elicited two distinct responses. One sought passage of city ordinances and state laws to curb freedom of speech and association, thereby allowing the Nazis to stampede us into restricting our liberties and strengthening the authoritarian powers of government. Had that come to pass the victory would not have been ours but theirs—and without the Nazis having to set foot in the streets.

As it turned out, reason and the depth of American commitment to liberty prevented that from happening. The courts denied the constitutionality of Skokie's ordinances. And the Illinois House of Representatives overwhelmingly rejected two dangerous anti-civil liberties bills that had been passed by the Illinois Senate.

The other response is epitomized by the counter-demonstrations. It is the strongest answer to Nazism: We will fight racism and despotic movements by bringing them out into the open, by exposing their true nature and their roots in injustice, fear and bigotry, and by strengthening the commitment to equality and democratic liberties through public discussion, education and demonstration.

The way to defeat Nazism and all other



BACK FROM UNDER THE ROCK

racist and despotic tendencies is not to pretend they don't exist by keeping them out of public view, but as the blacks in Tupelo (see story, p. 11) and throughout the U.S. have shown, by confronting them without fear and with confidence. Democratic liberties can only be strengthened by exercising them.

One of the ironies of the attempt to

prevent the Nazis from marching is that it gave them months of publicity they could not otherwise have dreamed of getting. The publicity did not expose their infamy but falsely made them appear as a persecuted minority defending basic liberties. In the process, too, the media have fallen into their usual myopia of portraying the conflict as primarily between Nazis

and Jews. It is in reality between Nazis and all partisans of democracy and humanity.

But the counter-demonstration in Skokie on June 25, and the one on June 24 at Chicago's federal building plaza afford the opportunity to raise awareness of that reality and to reaffirm that we shall never forget the horrors of Nazism or allow them to recur. ■

Letters

Change people first?

THOSE DISCUSSING MARKET SOCIALISM (*ITT*, May 31) should be aware that this is a relatively old idea in socialist circles. Many variations of this approach have been tried, notably among certain 19th century Utopian socialist groups.

One striking example was the Oneida community, founded by theoretician-activist John Humphrey Noyes. Not only did Noyes write extensively on this and related themes, but the theories were tested at the Community over a period of some 40 years. Much can be learned from this experience.

Actually, despite the carping of most socialists, the economic and political systems of the capitalist-social-democratic countries are remarkably well-matched to their counterparts in the USSR, China and the eastern European countries.

Leland Stauber's challenge, his attempt to activate new and fertile thinking along market socialism lines, seems to me the smartest approach today. The differences I have with Stauber are along structural lines, and these differences can be resolved once enough knowledgeable people begin to confront the problems intelligently.

All socialists must think and discuss socialism in practical terms, facing up to the critical issues of individual human attitudes that underlie societal problems. Before any radical changes toward true socialism can take place, we must find adequate (and voluntary) ways to modify human goals and behavior. No large scale institutional transformations have worked thus far, and so it seems unlikely that revolutions will be effective without basic human change.

—Nathaniel L. Bliss
Orange, Calif.

Decadence

HOW DID THIS BIT OF DECADEnce sneak into *ITT*? "Surrealism" (*ITT*, June 7)...With cheesecake yet! We don't need the "Violin" in-jokes of 1924 male chauvinism either. "Pray, you avoid it."

—David Seidman
Los Angeles

Shouting "squeak" in crowded theaters

THE FIRST TWO PARAGRAPHS of Diane Winston's piece on Redgrave's PLO film (*ITT*, June 14) make the rest of her review suspect.

The plain implication, if not the expressed idea, is that Winston sides with Chayefsky and the rest of the knee-jerk school who believe that Zionists can do no wrong.

A few weeks ago, Clayton Riley read Redgrave's statement, phrase by phrase, on his local WBAI morning program. When so presented—or set in type—I cannot see how any humanist or libertarian, let alone leftist, can find it objectionable.

With particular reference to the idea that she failed to accept the "First Amendment rights" of those who attacked the film *Julia* because Vanessa was in it, it is worth reminding one and all that the JDL [Jewish Defense League] hoodlums, among other things, loosed mice in the crowded theaters where the film was showing. Paraphrasing Holmes, there is no protection in the First Amendment for the person who shouts "fire" in a crowded theater, and the same rule should apply to mouse-releasers and fire-bombers.

It was these acts of hoodlumism that Redgrave was criticizing, and not the peaceful pickets outside the Academy.

—Howard N. Meyer
Rockville Center, N.Y.

The dangers of democracy

IMAGINE OTHER READERS would like to know what the nation's best and brightest capitalists have to say about the inflation problem. I found *Business Week's* 23-page special section on inflation (May 22) very enlightening.

BW surveyed a wide range of corporate and government representatives. Much of the analysis is contradictory, but certain themes emerge:

We need "a reduction of expectations by everyone." The problem is "because of—not in spite of—the way that the democratic decision-making process works in Washington." The weekly editorial praises New York City's cutbacks in jobs and services and recommends the same medicine for the nation: "the U.S. needs the equivalent of a receivership." Barry Bosworth, director of the Council on Wage and Price Stability, is quoted: "A recession is likely because that has always been government's anti-inflation policy."

A section on "How inflation threatens the fabric of U.S. society" notes that "this country could be heading into the worst period of economic and social dislocation since the Civil War."

Surely we socialists have better solutions to offer the American people. The

ITT debates on economic democracy, socialist strategy and market socialism have been helpful efforts.

—Norty Wheeler
Tucson, Ariz.

A fugitive from Allen Weinstein

IN VIEW OF THE HOT LITERARY-political debate now going on between Victor Navasky of *The Nation* and Allen Weinstein in the *New Republic*, I want to remind your readers that you got the jump on both those publications. Your article (*ITT*, Nov. 23, 1977) entitled "Whittaker Chambers: Self-Styled Soviet Agent?" was a forerunner of the whole discussion.

The subject of that article was the burden of the two-day interview that Allen Weinstein had with me in the summer of 1974. But Weinstein didn't say a word about this in his book *Perjury: The Hiss-Chambers Case*. Instead, Weinstein, on one page alone (p. 100), made three misstatements of fact concerning my bringing Chambers into the Communist party in 1925. In a footnote on the same page, he also made the false statement that I was really Clarence Miller, living in California under the name of Sam Krieger.

The zinger is that Clarence Miller was convicted of second degree murder, arising out of a shooting at a textile strike in Gastonia, N.C., in 1929. Miller (and some other defendants) skipped bail and fled to the Soviet Union to avoid serving a 17-20 year jail term. Consequently, if the professor is not talking through his hat, I am a fugitive from justice. I am now in the process of suing Weinstein, his publisher, Alfred A. Knopf, and probably the *New Republic*, for libel.

—Sam Krieger
Rohnert Park, Calif.

Here comes the sun

I WOULD LIKE TO CONGRATULATE you and, in particular, David Moberg, for a consistently informative coverage of energy politics.

The Sun Week issue has proven of special use to members of our community; the text has been shared among the following parties, all vitally concerned with the transition to a post-petroleum era: the Santa Cruz Alternative Energy Co-op; the Energy Conservation staff of the Community Action Board; the Alternative Energy Task Force of the People for a Nuclear Free Future (Abalone Alliance affiliate); the Santa Cruz County Alternate Housing Standards Committee. In addition, an instructor at the community college passed out photocopies of the issue to students in his Solar Agriculture class.

According to my lights, this sort of distribution is a measure of lively journalism.

—Peter Boffey
Santa Cruz, Calif.

Why, oh why, oh why?

MAY I THROW MY THREE cents (inflation) into the pot on Katherine Anne Porter saying in her book that Communists protesting the death sentence for Sacco and Vanzetti were "hoping for their deaths as a political argument" (*ITT*, Apr. 19). Katherine is a hell of a short story writer. Politically she belongs on the same Ship of Fools as former HUAC chairman Francis Walter, who said the same idiot things about Communists and the Rosenbergs.

By this deductive method, the liberal *New York Post*, which ran a virtual Kill the Rosenbergs series of articles, then refused to run a factual letter by the Rosenberg Committee pointing out the series' shabby lies, and refused to accept a paid ad offering the trial transcript so readers could make up their own minds, really wanted the Rosenbergs to live.

I remember that somber Friday morning at the Daily Worker when someone rushed out of the wire service room with

the bulletin that Justice Douglas had granted a stay of execution for the Rosenbergs. The rooms emptied in seconds and people joyfully embraced. (Only to be thrown back into anguished despair that same fateful day.)

Logic never was a big thing with yahoo anti-communism. But since Porter is a writer, I would ask her one question: Your stories wouldn't amount to much if readers had no clue as to what made your characters tick. If the Communists were such self-despising crumbs that they could pretend to care about Sacco and Vanzetti (and the Rosenbergs) while hoping they would be executed, just where did they get the motivation and stamina voluntarily to join and stick with a highly unpopular and often viciously persecuted minority party?

—Lester Rodney
Torrance, Calif.

"We won't shut up"

MANY, MANY THANKS TO Roberta Lynch for her review of *Saturday Night Fever*. Each week I am more deeply disappointed as I skim *ITT's* pages for feminist analysis of the news, popular culture, or the work of *ITT* itself.

I am a socialist and I value the goals of the paper, but I want more in my revolution than a transition to socialist democracy. I want to know what your revolution is going to do to end my oppression as a woman.

Acknowledgment that women's "issues" and women radicals are important 'too' is not enough. I want to see a co-editor who is a feminist. Coverage of women in the labor force is good and long overdue, but I want to see more reportage and more depth on the many areas of our lives in which we are exploited and denied our own voice. I want more of exactly what Roberta Lynch is doing, critiquing *SNF* and its reviews as she is affected by them as a woman. You bet "we won't shut up," we've barely begun.

I want to see self-criticism on the male-dominated style of your paper. For example, why didn't you include a feminist perspective in your feature article on cloning; this is currently a major issue of concern in the feminist movement. Why aren't the editors aware of this?

Several friends have stopped reading *ITT*, stating "When I read that paper I feel like I don't exist." Yes, you have Barbara Ehrenreich and Roberta Lynch, but count the men's and women's names in any issue, and the articles with a critical feminist perspective. *ITT* has much to offer, yet I and many others will accept nothing less than the paper taking responsibility to abolish sexism along with capitalism, and to start with yourselves.

—Sarah Young
Minneapolis, Minn.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

BE A MINI-DISTRIBUTOR OF ITT

Order bundles of 5 (10, 15, up to 25) copies of *IN THESE TIMES* to be mailed directly to you every week for three months. You pay us in advance, at 25¢ a copy, and help our circulation grow!

Are you a natural?
Then fill in the coupon below:

Name _____

Street _____

Town/State/Zip _____

Send me a bundle of _____ copies.
\$_____ enclosed is payment for 3 months, at 25¢ each copy.



"WHAT CAN YOU EXPECT WHEN MEN RUNNING MOST EVERYTHING?"

ROTHCO

Roberta Lynch

Blacking out the mind: Cambodia and the American left



When you were a little kid did you ever believe that if there was something you didn't want to see, you could get rid of it by simply closing your eyes? As if by taking no notice you could deny its existence. A lot of us did.

Now we're supposedly all grown up and we don't do things like that any more. We can look reality in the eye without flinching. Well, lately I'm not so sure. In talking with people on the left—many of them veterans of the anti-war movement—and in reading progressive publications, I have the sense that there is a kind of collective evasion underway—an attempt to make something disappear simply by refusing to see it.

I am talking about our attitude toward Cambodia. For many of those whose political education was the Indochina war of the past decade, Cambodia is not some obscure spot on the world map. It was Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia in 1970 that propelled tens of thousands of people into activism and that caused hundreds of thousands more to come face to face with their government's inhumane policies. Cambodia, we thought, was etched in our consciousness.

When the war ended and an avowedly left government came to power there, we fervently hoped that this small, underdeveloped and seriously damaged country could begin to rebuild based on a new social order that would be the antithesis of the horror and destruction of the war.

We identified Cambodia with Vietnam—whose history, culture and political arrangements we knew a good deal more about—and expected both countries to develop along similar lines.

Then gradually the stories began to leak

out—the "forced" evacuation of Phnom Penh, "mass" executions, the "break-up" of families. All of them printed in "reliable" sources like the *New York Times*, all of them sensationalized, and nearly all of them based on accounts from refugees—since almost no foreigners were allowed into the country.

Most of us greeted these initial reports with skepticism. We knew from direct experience—around China and Vietnam, for example—the willingness of the American press to print one-sided or even distorted reports to serve its own ideological ends. And we knew as well that some kind of drastic and dramatic measures were probably necessary in the short run to cope with the terrible legacy of starvation and destruction left by the war. We were quick to point these facts out in defense of the Cambodians.

But as time wore on and the reports continued unabated—growing more detailed and more disturbing—an uneasy silence began to descend over our ranks.

In part it was a sensible silence. We have believed, "Without investigation, no right to speak." And there had been little or nothing in the way of reliable first-hand information on the current developments in Cambodia.

Yet even this lack of information requires some comment. Why have the Cambodians been unwilling to explain their actions or permit even sympathetic observers into their country as the Vietnamese have done?

When the border dispute erupted between Cambodia and Vietnam it came as a shock even to many of those who followed developments in Indochina. The spectacle of these still-young and strug-

gling socialist nations devoting their limited resources not to fighting off an imperialist aggressor, but to fighting each other was painful to see—and difficult to fathom. Even as the accusations from each side came to light, the real facts remained obscure. And many of us here began to close our eyes as well as our mouths. If you didn't know what to say about something, perhaps it was easier not to see it as well.

But there is a price paid for this collective blackout—and I believe that it is too high. It is the undermining of our political consistency. We cannot argue forcefully against the denial of human rights in capitalist countries such as Brazil and remain blind to what may be significant violations in a socialist country.

And perhaps more importantly, it is the undermining of our political credibility. The violation of human rights in a socialist country has special meaning for the left in America because it reflects on our efforts here. The charges against Cambodia arouse people's worst fears about "collectivism": that it will destroy the entire social fabric, pull apart families, entail forced labor, and so on.

Many of us on the left share a vision of socialism that brings not only economic and social justice, but greater democracy and personal freedom. Such a vision is in sharp contrast to the spectre of "collectivism." But people in this country will judge our commitment to these goals not just on the basis of our program, but on the vigor of our defense of them.

I am not suggesting that we should simply accept as true all of the accusations printed in the American press. I have no doubt that any number of them are mis-

representations or inaccuracies. Nor do I doubt that some of the policies being pursued in Cambodia today may be necessary and humane—if extreme—given the circumstances in which that nation finds itself.

However, I am arguing that the American left cannot expect to relate to the American people on the basis of a blanket dismissal of the press as "biased" or "capitalist-dominated." Enough doubt has been created in everyone's mind—including many of ours—about the actions of the Cambodian government that our response must be based on specific and documented facts.

Such evidence is difficult to obtain because of the self-imposed wall around the country. However, one of the first reliable reports has recently been published by Yugoslavian observers. It is not in the form of accusations or charges, but it certainly does not lay to rest the concerns for human rights.

The left here and elsewhere in the world should call on the Cambodians to permit further observation. If such investigation reveals necessary and justifiable actions, we should seek to explain and interpret them as such. But if it reveals the kind of violations not just of human rights, but of the human spirit that have been charged, then we should be clear and forthright in our criticisms.

We have a responsibility to open our eyes—a responsibility to the principles for which we stand and to the movement that we seek to build.

Roberta Lynch is a member of the National Committee of the New American Movement, a democratic socialist organization.

Richard L. Sklar

CIA sabotages democracy to fight Russians

John Stockwell soldiered for the CIA. He had been a CIA station chief in central Africa and officer in charge of operations in a Vietnamese province before his appointment, in July 1975, to direct the Angola Task Force. His book, *In Search of Enemies: A CIA Story*, is a despairing account of the American debacle in Angola. It should be read by those who wonder what we are now doing in Zaire.

The African liberation movement in Angola was made up of three principal organizations, each with its own foreign relations. In 1973 China funnelled military support to a floundering northern group, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), and its local patron, the government of Zaire. The Soviet Union supported a rival group, the

Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), with little enthusiasm until October 1974, when the Kremlin decided to compete effectively with the Chinese in Angola. The U.S., friendly to the colonialist regime in Lisbon until its overthrow in 1974, had also been paying the FNLA leader a personal retainer of \$10,000 per year since 1970. Meanwhile, a third Angolan group, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), had little outside support, apart from intermittent help from Zambia.

Stockwell was elated by his appointment: "a GS 14 in a GS 16 job." But he was troubled from the beginning. On his first day at work he was told by a superior that Secretary of State Henry Kissin-

ger had decided not to seek a negotiated settlement in Angola, preferring instead to challenge the Soviets wherever possible for global reasons that had nothing to do with Angola. What is more, he was informed that the quaintly named "40 Committee," a subcommittee of the National Security Council, responsible for covert operations and chaired by Kissinger, did not expect to accomplish anything positive. The sole objective was to prevent a "cheap" and "easy" victory for the Soviet-backed MPLA.

To that end, the 40 Committee and the President secretly spent \$31.7 million, about one-tenth of what the Soviets are reported to have paid for their MPLA-Cuban victory. But for the persistent efforts of Senators Clark and Tunney, American involvement would have been escalated, as Kissinger appears to have wished, to the point of "an open-ended confrontation with the Soviet Union" (Clark). Tunney's amendment to the 1976 Defense Appropriations Bill expressly prohibited the use of defense funds in Angola.

Stockwell reveals that in deference to Portugal, the CIA did not even gather information from within Angola between the late 1950s and 1975. Ignorance may partially account for the various inept strategic decisions taken by those who were responsible for the covert operation in Angola. For example, students of the liberation movement have wondered why the MPLA and UNITA, which have complementary and probably reconcilable ideological inclinations, were unable to reach a mutually satisfactory agreement. Stockwell discloses that UNITA did attempt to open negotiations with the MPLA in September 1975. This initiative was blocked by the CIA. "We wanted no 'soft' allies in our war against the MPLA." Instead of constructive efforts to

end the conflict, the CIA planted a garden of "news" stories in African and other newspapers that were designed to exaggerate the magnitude of Soviet military intervention.

Tragically, UNITA, an impressively led movement, thought to enjoy the largest popular following, accepted South African military assistance, as did the FNLA. South Africa's entry into the war led, in turn, to the introduction of Cuban regular forces, over and above the existing contingent of 1,000 battle-hardened Cuban advisers. Stockwell himself "saw no evidence that the U.S. formally encouraged" South Africa to enter the war. But he documents the existence of a cozy relationship between the CIA and its South African counterpart, the Bureau of State Security. As in colonial Angola, the CIA does not appear to develop its own sources of information within South Africa.

What results did American policy produce in Angola? Arguably these: (1) A minority government dependent upon Cubans for its survival. (2) An embittered and apparently unbridgeable division between the contending Angolan movements. (3) A continuing toll of Angolan life and treasure.

Today we witness a new American operation in central Africa: a massive supply of military support, including the introduction of foreign troops, to preserve the Mobutu dictatorship in Zaire. The President's National Security Adviser confers with the Chinese government in Peking, and the Chinese Foreign Minister then shows up in Kinshasa to denounce Soviet aggression against Zaire. Who is following whom, to what end, at what cost and to whom?

Richard L. Sklar is Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Los Angeles.



FORGEWORKER'S HANDS, Oakland California, 1977

IMAGES OF WORK PHOTOGRAPHS BY KEN LIGHT

For catalogue send \$2.50 to Ken Light,
836 Contra Costa Ave., Berkeley, CA 94707

By Stanley Aronowitz

**CAPTAINS OF CONSCIOUSNESS:
Advertising and the Social Roots of
Consumer Culture**By Stewart Ewen
McGraw-Hill, New York, 1976 (paper-
back 1977, \$3.95)

This book is about the industrialization of consumption after the first world war. Stewart Ewen's point is that the advent of mass production, signified most dramatically by the introduction of the automobile assembly line, generated a crisis for capitalism that could only be solved by the manufacture of consumers as well as goods.

If Fordism and Taylorism created a "mass" production worker, advertising was the main instrument creating a mass consumer. Workers had to be "habituated" to buying as the main form of leisure, as a kind of central cultural activity just as they were being habituated by industrial psychology in the 1920s to repetitive detailed labor on the job.

Captains of Consciousness treats this process historically. It traces the development of the ideology of consumption to its manifestations in changing family relations, especially their transformation from a unit of production to a unit of consumption.

Ewen shows how the most intimate relations of personal life were penetrated by consumerism. He shows the role of parents changing to make youth the ideal to which all the family's resources had to be subordinated. For Ewen, advertising then, was much more than a means to sell products. Its task was nothing less than selling capitalism both by persuasion and by the industrialization of the institutions of daily life.

In a felicitous phrase, he characterizes consumerist ideology as a "partial totality" in which the very processes of thinking are bound up to the moral duty of habitual consumption. Consumerist ideology generates a whole new world of facts assembled from cultural things produced by the combination of industry and media.

Ewen's study shows that we can no longer confine social criticism or political struggle to "economic" issues at the point of production or to public issues in the legislative arena. The cultural world created by advertising and mass media renders a consciousness increasingly unable to think or act its way out of repressive modes of living. The rise of advertising was linked to the need of the new capitalism to destroy elements of working class culture, lodged in the family and workers' organizations, that resisted the domination of capital. Ewen's rich historical description shows that important sectors of the corporate capitalist class, particularly those in retailing and marketing as well as corporate intellectuals, were well aware that upon the success of the project depended the ability of the system to withstand its internal crises.

Ewen's departure from liberal critics of mass culture such as Vance Packard consists in his refusal to ascribe the degradation of labor and consciousness in the 20th century to "eccentricities" of the

IN DEPTH

Making consumers
on assembly lines

SAAB TURBO IS THE POWER OF THE FUTURE. The Saab Turbo can be the most exhilarating driving experience of your life. Feel turbo power thrust you on to a highway. Feel turbo power shoot you ahead when it's time to pass. The Saab turbocharged unit—here symbolized by the turbo fan—is an engineering masterpiece. It takes the turbo power of the Indianapolis 500 and Le Mans and harnesses that power to work at speeds you drive daily. The Saab Turbo is turbo power integrated with features which have ranked Saab as one of the world's finest performance cars. Performance features such as front wheel drive, rack and pinion steering, Bilstein shock absorbers, 4-wheel power assisted disc brakes and rear spoiler. Come into the future. Test the Saab Turbo. And be ready to unleash yourself. \$9,998*
*The manufacturer's suggested retail price for the Saab Turbo includes dealer preparation. Taxes, title, destination charges and options are additional. All Saab models are available through our Turbo Delivery Plan. Ask your local Saab dealer for more information.

SAAB IS THE COMMAND PERFORMANCE CAR.

Fordism created mass production,
advertising mass culture as the
"heart of a heartless world."

economic order. Rather he insists that the phenomenon of consumer culture must be understood as "systemic," literally the other side of the mass production of goods. As production became more and more oppressive, consumption seemed

the only escape from the boredom and routinization of the assembly line.

The irony is that mass consumption offers little solace. Instead, it results in the piling of junk in the household and a vast consumer debt. Most important, it

tends to close out the universe of critical thought. Mass culture becomes the "heart of the heartless world" replacing religion. But, it is an illusory sanctuary that merely intensifies the oppressiveness of everyday life because it makes the trip to the factory a two-way street: the home is no longer a clear alternative to the alienated workplace; it is too fully integrated into the market.

Like several other important books that have documented the degradation of work in our epoch (notably Harry Braverman's *Labor and Monopoly Capital* and David Noble's *America by Design*), *Captains of Consciousness* stresses the inexorable character of the process by telling the story from the point of view of the corporations that perpetrated it. While this is a necessary aspect of the understanding of the nature of repression in modern life, it is inadequate and misleading if taken by itself. In his last chapter, Ewen indicates that the road was not smooth for those who wished to eliminate all resistance to the corporate order, especially in the 1960s. But the impression left by the book is the overwhelming power of the cultural apparatus. There is virtually no discussion of the contradictions within it that may open the space for social opposition.

I am not asking that a book do everything. However, if the analysis remains at a level of abstraction where it cannot take into account concrete struggles that defy the process of degradation, slow it down and even prevent its success in some instances, the lesson tends to be that virtually nothing can stop closing out the chance for fundamental social change.

The historical basis of this pessimism lies, I suspect, in the failure of the left in western capitalist countries to fulfill hopes of emancipation.

As Ewen notes, the most articulate expression of this vision of total domination is contained in the work of the Frankfurt School Marxists who have bequeathed a legacy of rich analytic perspectives from which to understand the failure of American socialism as involving something more than "revisionism." At the same time they have offered a framework in which hope is found only at the margins of the social structure, if at all.

I am reminded of the small, but significant intellectual movement that, in the 1960s initiated the demand for "history from the bottom up." Ewen's work is certainly sympathetic to this tendency because he has offered a social history rather than remaining within the confines of ruling class chronicles. He has tried to develop an approach that goes to the underside of our lives, rather than remaining at the level of political and economic structures. One hopes that the sequel to this excellent volume will deal with the ways in which artists and workers try to combat the massification of their labor and how this cultural struggle may congeal into a powerful opposition in the years ahead.

Stanley Aronowitz is Professor of Comparative Culture, Social Science School, University of California-Irvine. He is the author of *False Promises*, a study of the American working class.

PUBLIC EYE



*The premier issue provides an analysis of the NCLC and the *Information Digest*. Fall, 1977.

*Vol. 1, No. 2 concentrates on COINTEL-PRO, surveillance of anti-nukes, and the national police computer network. April, 1978.

*Vol. 1, No. 3 looks at the "new" right. July, 1978.

THE PUBLIC EYE

\$8.00/year; \$2.00/issue. Published by Repression Information Project. Bulk rates available. Write to P.O. Box 3278, Washington, D.C. 20010 (202) 234-0241.

Sustain Us.

In These Times has begun a drive for sustainers—interested supporters who are willing to contribute regularly to help us meet our expenses...

We have established an initial goal of 100 sustainers who will contribute an average of \$15 each month. We are far from that goal, and we are asking you to help us attain it.

Please send whatever amount you can.

I will be a sustainer.

I've enclosed my first month's pledge, and will send \$_____ a month.

☐ I'd appreciate a reminder from **In These Times** the first of the month.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send to: **In These Times**, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60622

Illinois & ERA

Continued from page 3.

the ERA, is a political issue for Congress to decide after the ERA has been ratified.

Vice-President Mondale recently told the Democratic National Committee that the ERA and extension were among the party's top six priorities, but Scott said that President Carter's "active support has been very disappointing on the ERA and extension. He has done nothing to fulfill his campaign commitment."

Some 25-50,000 people are expected for a July 9 pro-ERA march in Washington and hard lobbying the following day. The boycott and political work continue in all the unratified states, although a few—such as Mississippi—are regarded

as virtual lost causes. Although the campaign needs money now, director Robert Altman's pledge of up to \$2 million for ERA from the profits of his soon-to-be-released film should be a financial boost, if it comes through.

After the initial euphoria of quick approval nearly seven years ago was dampened by a right-wing attack and a shift in politicians' sentiments against the ERA, the women's movement and its allies appear to have staged an aggressive comeback, possibly still saving Little Era from an undeserved fate by adding more reels to the drama. "The Equal Rights Amendment," Scott quips, "is an idea whose time deserves extension." ■

Olympic prison

Continued from page 7.

Law and order politics in state legislatures has led to increasingly harsh sentences for various crimes. Efforts to replace indeterminate sentences (based on a rehabilitation philosophy of letting inmates out when they are ready) with fixed sentences based on the crime has led to an increase in the time served, and a need for more prisons.

Other alternatives.

Rather than solving the problem of overcrowding by increasing the available space in prisons, groups like the National Moratorium on Prison Construction call for reducing the number of those in prison by such measures as decriminalization of victimless crimes, virtual elimination of pre-trial detention, speedy counsel with equal access to adequate defense counsel, greater use of probation or parole, halfway houses and other small community-based facilities, restitution to victims and community arbitration of disputes and shorter sentences.

Many of these measures have been tried out in practice on a small scale, generally with better results at a lower cost than imprisonment.

Economic cost—the pocketbook argument—is seen by moratorium advocates as one of their better appeals to the public. Estimates of costs of imprisonment vary widely. One of the lowest is \$6,000 per prisoner per year, compared with \$600 for maintaining the same prisoner on probation. This estimate does not include the cost of constructing prison space, tax money lost that would have been paid if the prisoner were on the outside or the

cost of supporting prisoners' dependants on welfare.

Cost arguments by themselves, however, do not answer the public fear of crime, which is a real factor boosting prison expansion.

"We must set our goal as a reduction in crime and tie this to a moratorium on prisons," argues David Rothenberg, executive director of the Fortune Society, the nation's largest ex-offender organization. "We have to tell people that prisons are a training ground for crime. In prison, violence becomes a means to sustain oneself in the institution."

"When we give a blank check to the prisons," Rothenberg concludes, "the public's fear of crime is not being addressed."

The moratorium advocates have already begun to count some successes across the country. In California last year they helped defeat a \$90 million proposal for new prison construction. In Kansas they blocked a 400-bed maximum security facility; in Texas they derailed for at least six months a 2,500-bed prison farm camp.

The battle over the Olympic prison, which has already won the support of the New York Council of Churches, could give new emphasis and visibility to this drive. In the process, it can help set the tone for American criminal justice for decades to come.

The National Moratorium on Prison Construction can be contacted at 324 C St., SE, Washington, DC 20003.

Bob McMahon writes frequently for IN THESE TIMES.

Engineer union

Continued from page 7.

Rockwell won the first election by a 58 percent margin, after NEPA's two-and-a-half year organizing drive. But another vote has been scheduled for June 26 by the National Labor Relations Board because of technical violations by Rockwell.

New American Movement

National Convention

Milwaukee, Wisconsin July 19-23

The Labor Movement Today and the Role of the Left within It

Sessions on:

Feminism	Culture
Anti-Racism	Campus Activism
Reproductive Rights	Gay Liberation
Health	Activists Reflect
Third World	on the '30's
Liberation Struggles	Concert

and much more

☐ I would like to register for the NAM convention

Name _____

Address _____

Status: ☐ NAM member ☐ Observer

3244 N. Clark Street
Chicago, IL 60657

says Harold Ammond, chairman of the National Council of Engineers and Scientists, which represents industrially-employed engineers and technicians.

"We are finding that there are very few second-generation engineers. Professionals and technicians are saying to their sons and daughters, 'Look, I want you to be a professional, but be a doctor or be a lawyer or be an accountant. But don't follow in your father's footsteps.'"

Rude awakening.

The changing fortunes of America's engineers have also forced them to re-evaluate their intense patriotism and company loyalty, which through the '50s and '60s was a trademark of the aerospace industry.

During the '50s and '60s there was literally an aerospace engineer's uniform, says Chuck LaMont, a Rockwell engineer who works on the Space Shuttle and is a rank-and-file NEPA activist. "We all wore white shirts and black ties. Engineering was our entire lives. Many of us lived simply for the joy of solving the complex technological problems presented to us. We believed that as long as we continued to perform high-quality work we would be taken care of."

A rude awakening came at the end of the Apollo moon shot program, however. "The program was a great success," LaMont says, "and then, three days after it was over, they lined up all these tables outside the plant to terminate the engineers and told us, 'Get out by 5 o'clock.'"

Such experiences have deeply embittered many engineers and have given rise to a new and cautious search for solutions. Collective bargaining organizations have begun to look like one defense against unstable employment and aerospace industry management.

A recent study on professional unions by the Conference Board, a business-oriented economic forum, says that by 1985

a 30 percent rise in unionization could be expected among professional and technical workers. Since 1960 unionization among all white-collar workers has climbed by almost 4 million.

Beyond unionization, another remedy being discussed is worker retraining. Many see this as a way of fighting what is now being called "technological obsolescence," the shortening of the useful working lives of engineers in an increasingly complex industry.

But there are obstacles. Many corporations find it cheaper to hire a new engineering school graduate with the latest knowledge than to keep an older worker and spend time on his re-education.

"Every time the aerospace industry goes through one of its cycles, the hardest-hit people are the engineers," says Gordon Adams, a research director for the Council of Economic Priorities and an industry expert. "It's harder for an engineer or a scientist to find re-employment than it is for a production-line worker. Production-line skills are easily transferable, while engineering skills are not."

Adams also notes that it is not easy to shift defense engineers into commercial engineering work because the "cost-controlled environment for commercial products is real hard to adjust to for engineers who have had to worry only about engineering specifications in the past."

Regardless of possible solutions, engineers are not accepting their role as America's newest migrant workers easily. They are mad and they want the public to know it. In the words of one Rockwell engineer, "I'm fed up with the way we've been treated, screw the country, screw the military, screw the company and screw you!"

(©1978 Pacific News Service)

John Markoff is an associate editor of Pacific News Service. His research is being supported by the California Military Audit Project.

THE REAL 1968

Continued from page 24.

to Czechoslovakia and summarily disposes of the Russian invasion: "The pollsters' findings in late August indicated that Humphrey and Muskie had no more chance to defeat Nixon and Agnew than the Czechs had against the Russian tanks. While the Democrats and the Yuppies were gathering in Chicago, a half-million troops from Poland, East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia. Twenty people died in Prague alone."

It is difficult to conceive of a way to discuss that event that would tell less about what happened and why.

An egocentric view.

By this point, it has become clear that the commentary—that is, television's explicit attempt to interpret the past—will teach us nothing about the events of 1968. There is a sense, in fact, in which the commentary violates the "actuality" of the events, most starkly during occasional bizarre moments when Robertson and Reynolds "walk into" old news reports. Robertson strides into a Vietnam report with his collar unbuttoned and tie loosened, and Reynolds relaxes on a bench inside a mock-up of a Resurrection City shack.

Television also tends to enclose events—to see them only in relation to itself. 1968's version of feminism is "women's lib," "a new kind of protest" that disturbed "the nation's already overburdened conscience"—as it was beamed into American living rooms. Women demonstrating at the Miss America pageant in Atlantic City "took advantage of the attendant press coverage" in order "to grab their share of the headlines."

"Right there on the Boardwalk," Robertson comments with amused condescension, "in front of God and man and the TV cameras, the protesting women eagerly tossed their brassieres into a trashcan." Then a mocking pun: "The symbolism was hazy but the point was clear: from now on women were going to try to stand up on their own." Whatever might have been significant about the protest has been managed into cuteness.

Occasionally, however, the power of an event cannot be managed. John Carlos' and Tommy Smith's black power

salute at the Mexico City Olympics engages us on an emotional, if not a political level. ABC's Jim McKay describes the awards ceremony and "the symbolic protest by Smith and Carlos, each wearing a black glove, holding fists aloft and bowing their heads during the national anthem. Later they were dismissed from the team and sent home by the U.S. Olympic Committee."

What were the protests about? The broadcast—which somehow avoids using the words "black power"—gives no hint. But it does permit a sustained look at Smith and Carlos as the anthem plays. This is one of the few moments in the hour when nothing is "happening," and its very stillness is moving. Television can be powerful; it can call up strong feelings. But even here—a crack in ABC—we aren't encouraged to think, to reason, to understand.

1968: *A Crack In Time* concludes with the predictable salute to the "American experiment in democracy," delivered by, of all people, Hubert Humphrey. The Happy Warrior, the man who perhaps least understood the turmoil of 1968, fell to the moral and political low point of his career in that year.

A decade later, transformed into an elder statesman, Humphrey had regained his place as an exemplar of humane liberalism. And, the program suggests by analogy, so has America. In any event, Richard Nixon—the real legacy of 1968—might have made an awkward spokesman for the present well-being of the American polity.

Television's implicit recasting of the results of the 1968 election suggests its immense power to rewrite our history. Its verbal reconstructions, however, are easier to resist than its pictures—which, by showing us what Robertson quite truthfully promised would be real events, mask the degree to which they, too, are interpretations.

Experience as a whole, television's sounds, words and pictures take possession of history by making our past into its past. 1968 has become 1968. ■

Marc Gunther is a reporter in Hartford. Warren Goldstein is an American studies graduate living in New Haven with his two television sets.

LIFE IN THE U.S.

Sam Silver

MEDIA

Pacifica volunteers win Peabody

By Sam Silver

SAN FRANCISCO

TWO UNPAID, VOLUNTEER workers for the Pacifica radio station here have won one of the most prestigious awards in broadcasting, the Peabody Award for Excellence in Radio Journalism.

Adi Gevins and Laurie Garrett won the Peabody award for a series of documentaries on topics ranging from the social history of LSD to the dangers of recombinant DNA research, under the general title of "Science Story."

The Peabody judges were amazed that neither woman gets paid for her work, obviously unfamiliar with media professionals who work more for the message than the dollars. The award itself has no monetary value, although it has led to job offers for the two broadcasters.

"Science Story" grew out of the desire of Gevins and Garrett to blow the whistle on the religious-like devotion normally paid to the pronouncements of scientists by the media.

"A lot of things that you learn as you are initiated into the world of science are given to the public as though they were truth when they are usually one side of a controversy," says Gevins. "People have this concept that scientists are these wonderful superior beings who work in white coats and are really into research and love to work and study. Well, that's a lot of bunk. We know that it's a job and an industry. The reasons scientific research goes in particular directions in this country is because the funding is controlled

Outraged over the Swine Flu fiasco, Gevins and Garrett decided people had to know about science.

by the government and other economic interests that often merge with the federal government."

The event that propelled Gevins and Garrett into action was Gerald Ford's re-election devise, the Swine Flu inoculation program. Their first show, "Swine Flu Fiasco," aired within weeks of the beginning of the vaccination drive in late 1976.

The show is filled with blaring trombones, irreverent comments and quotes from "experts." The Peabody committee cited the irreverence of the program as one of the reasons for the award.

"I was a graduate student in immunology and I was really appalled by the entire [Swine Flu] program," explains Garrett. "I knew enough about the flu as a virus and also knew enough about immunology to realize the public was being sold a bill of goods."

Gevins and Garrett realized that the way to communicate the alarming nature of the flu effort was not to bore listeners with a dry compendium of facts. Instead they chose to entertain. "We did a whole thing on 'Welcome to the Flu Season,'" says Garrett, "just like a baseball game—the President throwing out the first syringe and the crowd roaring."

The response was instantaneous and



Laurie Garrett (left) and Adi Gevins (right) receive no payment for their show "Science Story," a fact that amazed the Peabody Award committee.

important. The show sold to over 40 other radio stations. It also gave the intrepid scientific researchers the energy to continue in spite of the rigors of non-profit radio life.

At the heart of Garrett and Gevins' approach is their concern to educate the public. "The thing that we learned is the value of doing your basic journalism," Garrett comments. "If you have the actualities of one person saying cancer is like a common cold, and you can't possibly get it from asbestos and another saying 99 percent of all cancers are environmentally caused; if you put these voices back to back, you come up with an entertaining program even if you do not use all the gimmicks we used in the Swine Flu program."

Garrett and Gevins went on to produce "A Visit to the Stanford Primate Center," "Discoveries of the Galapagos Reef," and, most popular and newsworthy, "Recombinant DNA and the Corporate World."

The DNA story helped bring the issue to national attention. More than 60 copies were sold to other radio stations and medical schools.

Gevins and Garrett have gotten the big prize for doing an amazing job. They did it without the help of big media or big money and with their audience foremost in their minds. Congratulations are surely in order.

Sam Silver is a frequent contributor to IN THESE TIMES, and a writing partner to Adi Gevins.

SPORTS

Good coaching and teamwork make the difference

By Mark Naison

FOR DISAPPOINTED LOVERS, sentimentalists and aficionados of good coaching, this year's NBA playoffs were an uplifting experience. The Washington Bullets, a veteran team that previously seemed to crumble when it reached the finals, came from behind to defeat a young, quick Seattle club in a series that went the full seven games.

Nobody expected these clubs to reach the finals. Their regular season records were slightly over .500 and they each seemed to have glaring weaknesses: the Bullets' best starters were aging and slow, and the Seattle team lacked experience and physical strength.

But the playoffs demonstrated that the talent in the NBA is so evenly matched that it's very hard to predict the outcome of a short series. (Though some of us try!) It's easy to get taken in by the cult of the superstar, but the difference between the benchwarmer and the all-star is often little more than playing time, luck and the right use of a player's talents.

Both Seattle and Washington got to the finals largely on the strength of "unknowns" and players who were deemed "over the hill."

Among the key players for Seattle were Dennis Johnson, a second-year guard from Pepperdine that most fans had never heard of before he was inserted in the lineup; Marvin Webster, a highly touted college player who had been a bust at Den-

ver; and Jack Sikma, a 6'11" rookie who had impressed scouts as a center, but had never before played forward.

Among Washington's best performers were Wes Unseld, a talented but overweight center, crippled by leg injuries; Bobby Dandridge, a small forward who'd seen his best moments playing with Jabbar in Milwaukee; and Charley Johnson, a six-foot guard who had been released by several NBA teams when the injury-riddled Bullets signed him to a ten-day contract.

That these players could go up against the likes of Abdul Jabbar, Adrian Dantley, Maurice Lucas, Dr. J. and George Gervin and hold their own seemed improbable, but that's exactly what happened.

The Washington-Philadelphia matchup, in the Eastern semi-finals, was symbolic of the whole playoffs. The Philadelphia team, coming off a 4-0 thrashing of the New York Knicks, seemed invincible; they had talent, physical strength, and overwhelming confidence.

But the Sixers had won many of their games by physically intimidating other teams and the Bullets, despite other weaknesses, were one squad that could not be bullied (as the Celtics found out in 1975). When the Sixers discovered this, it appeared to confuse them; they lost sight of their game plan and tried to humiliate the Bullets individually. The veteran Washington team, ignoring the bad-mouthing of the Sixer players, kept their cool, ran their offense, and won the series in six games.

The Seattle-Washington series had a totally different ambience. Both teams displayed well-disciplined offenses, tight defenses, and an ability to stick to game plans. In addition, the teams demonstrated a respect for one another's health and well-being that has been all too lacking in the NBA this year. Although the games were very physical, there were no fights, no arguments, and little "woofing" of opposing players.

Coaching strategy played an important role in the series. Lenny Wilkens, the Seattle coach, seized an early advantage by inserting Paul Silas, an aging rebounder and defensive specialist, to front Elvin Hayes and deny him the ball. Hayes, who destroyed the '76ers with turnaround jumpshots and scored easily on Jack Sikma, had trouble getting his shots off during the rest of the series. Only his extraordinary effort on the offensive boards enabled Hayes to score near his average.

The other key defensive matchup for Seattle was Dennis Johnson on Kevin Grevey. Johnson, blessed with excellent size, timing and leaping ability, repeatedly blocked Grevey's shots, and used his superior quickness to score easily on Grevey on offensive rebounds.

In the sixth game of the series, Bullet coach Dick Motta began to make adjustments. He put Grevey on the bench and inserted Bobby Dandridge, a small forward with good ball handling ability, at the guard position opposite Johnson. In Dandridge's place at forward he placed Greg Ballard, a talented rookie who had

seen little playing time during the year. Ballard displayed a fine shooting touch, excellent rebounding skill, and added much-needed floor speed to the Bullet attack. While Ballard and Mitch Kupchak, the other Bullet front court sub, crashed the boards on both ends of the floor, Dandridge kept Dennis Johnson from getting offensive rebounds and harassed him effectively when he took short jumpshots. The lineup changes helped the Bullets control the backboards, and use a fast-breaking attack that got them many easy layups.

Though the series was enjoyable for knowledgeable fans, it proved disappointing to the TV moguls. The ratings for the playoffs were much lower than last year, due to the absence of "glamour players" like Bill Walton, Julius Erving, and George McGinnis, whose personalities and playing styles commanded widespread attention.

But to coaches around the league, the playoffs provided yet another indication that tight defensive play, well-drilled offenses, and players who complement one another's skills are more important than individual scoring punch in producing winning teams. On some ball clubs, a Dennis Johnson is more valuable than a Pete Maravich; a Wes Unseld more important than a Bob McAdoo, and a Jack Sikma better than a George McGinnis.

But the big glamour players sell tickets and when players get traded and drafted, it may be the owners, not the coaches, who have their way.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

Robeson play provokes sharp conflict

The People's Almanac calls Paul Robeson "a Renaissance man born too late for the actual Renaissance and too soon for his own country's recognition of the black race." In recent months, a new biographical play, *Paul Robeson*, has embroiled the black political, intellectual and cultural community in a strident controversy in which the only thing on which everyone agrees is that Robeson, who died in 1976, was, indeed, a great man.

Because he was black, an articulate and outspoken opponent of racism and a supporter of communism and Soviet society, his life story was suppressed in the U.S. Now, as it emerges for the first time, what is really being debated is how Paul Robeson will be seen in history.

For the last five months, statements, counter-statements, open meetings, radio and TV shows have all addressed the issue. The subject first became public one week before the play opened in New York in January, after a 15-week pre-Broadway tour. In a two-page statement in *Variety*, the New York show business daily, the National Ad-Hoc Committee to End Crimes Against Paul Rob-

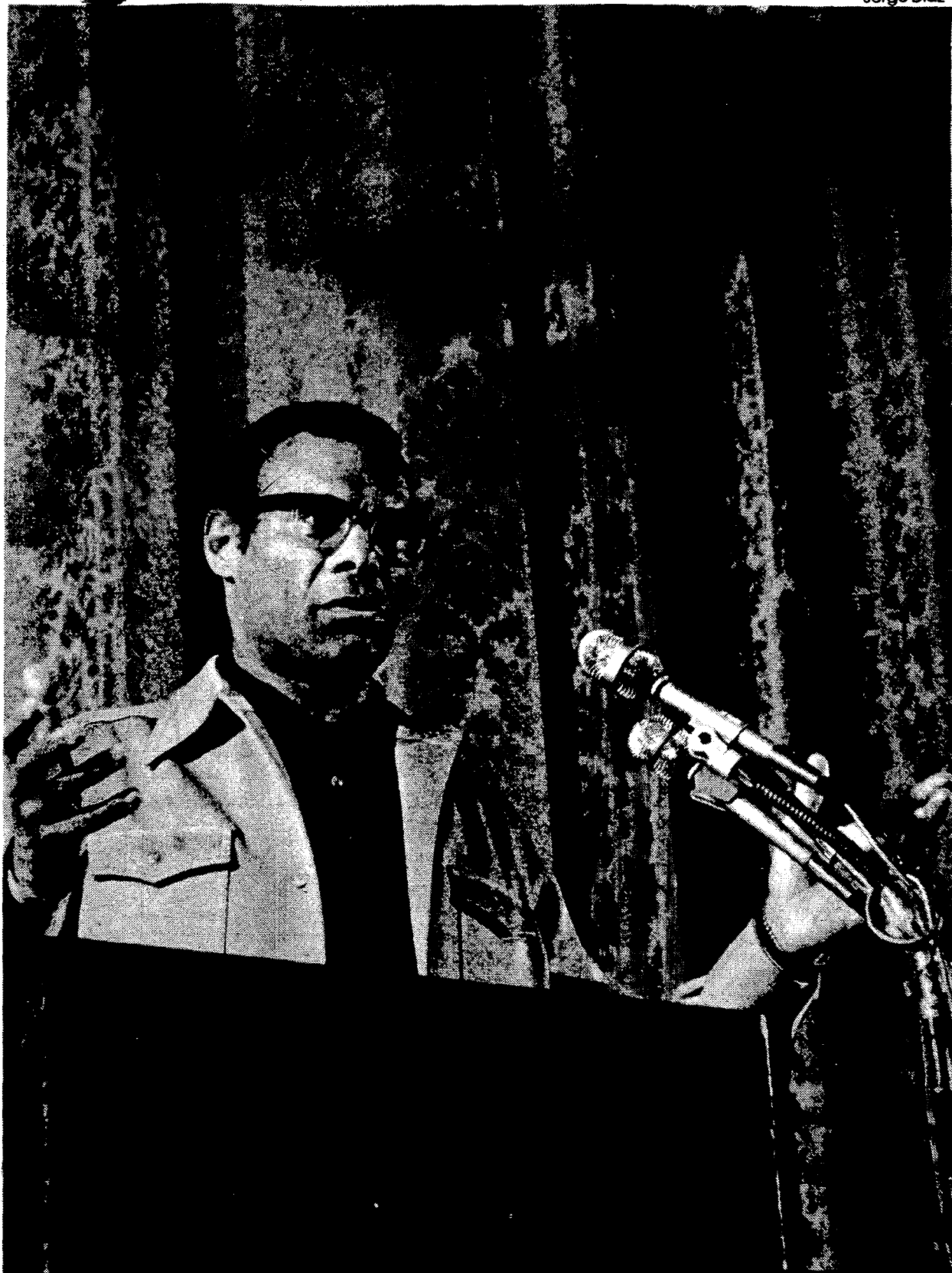
eson denounced the play as "however unintended, a pernicious perversion of the essence of Paul Robeson."

The play, a one-man monologue starring James Earl Jones, has now closed its original 45-day run and a brief revival by Joseph Papp, but the controversy continues. The division of opinion has so cut across predictable ideological lines that Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee, a couple whose names have been paired on innumerable petitions and statements for social justice, found themselves on opposing sides.

Written by the black playwright Phillip Hayes Dean, the play attempts to portray Robeson's life from youth to old age. Although almost nothing in the play is in Robeson's own words, many of the incidents and events alluded to are real. Others are not.

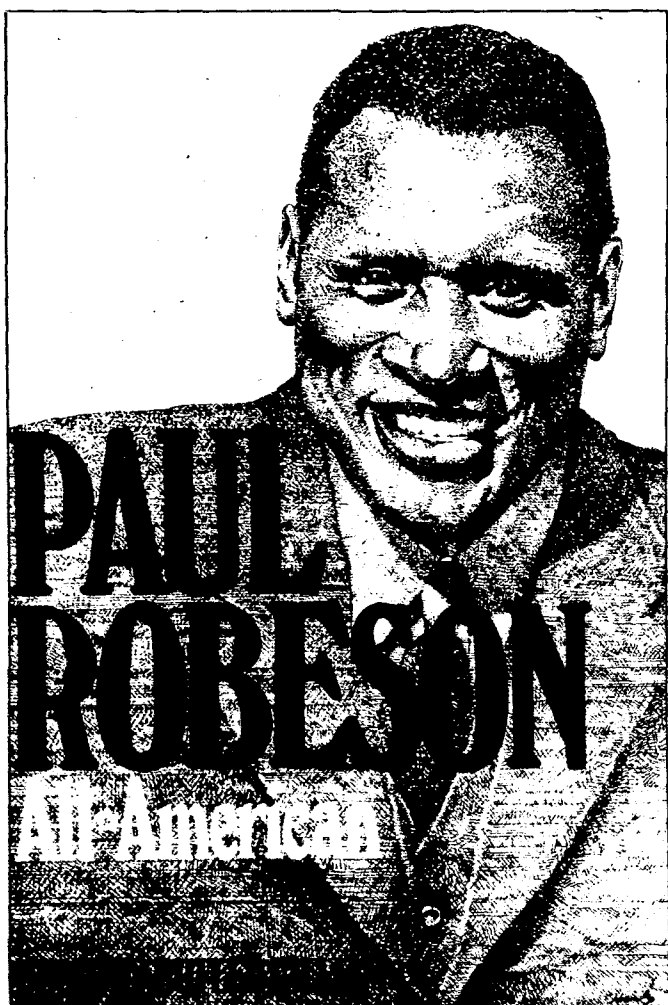
A rewriting of history.

The Ad-Hoc Committee's "Statement of Conscience" calls *Paul Robeson* "a rewriting of history as perverse in its own way as the original attempt to erase [him from] history." After praising Jones' acting and noting that the portrait that emerges is sympath-



Paul Robeson Jr. addressing an audience of nearly 1,000 people at Hunter College in New York City on the subject of Paul Hayes Dean's play, *PAUL ROBESON*. "There's only one problem," said Robeson Jr. "It's not my father."

Black by birth, red by choice



PAUL ROBESON: All-American
By Dorothy Butler Gilliam
New Republic Books, 1978, \$3.95

When Paul Robeson died in 1976, amidst the self-satisfied hoopla of the Big Bicentennial, few of his fellow-citizens seemed aware that he had ever existed. His meteoric career—in sports, theater, music and politics—had been carefully expunged from public consciousness, just as the man himself had been systematically crushed by America's anti-Communist crusade.

Robeson was born in Princeton, N.J., the son of a poor black preacher who hauled ashes for the well-to-do. When he was still a child, his mother died in a household fire. But despite the straitened circumstances of his youth, Robeson was not raised in a ghetto environment.

He attended a nearly all-white high school in Somerville and then moved on, as a scholarship student, to Rutgers, where his academic and extracurricular prowess established him as a local hero. Although he was denied a dormitory room at Rutgers, savagely assaulted when he tried out for the football team and excluded from the glee club, by his junior year Robeson had become an all-American football player, a baseball and track star and a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

In February 1920 he went to New York to enter Columbia Law School. Moving to Harlem ulti-

mately proved more significant than his legal studies, for it was there he mingled with the rising stars of the "Harlem Renaissance" and married Eslanda Cardozo Goode, a member of the small black upper class.

Graduating in 1923, Robeson looked about for an appropriate position and found the opportunities for black lawyers narrowly circumscribed. (The American Bar Association, for example, excluded them from membership.) His wife was prodding him to turn his talents to the theater, and suddenly work opened up as an actor in the plays of Eugene O'Neill.

Despite racist threats, which caused O'Neill to hire burly steelworkers to guard the Provincetown Playhouse, Robeson was an immediate success. This success grew even more phenomenal when he teamed up with folklorist and pianist Laurence Brown to perform concerts of black "spirited." By the late 1920s, when he moved with his wife and young son to London, Robeson was an international celebrity.

Only gradually political.

Only gradually did he turn political. Indeed, during the '20s and early '30s he accepted a number of stereotyped roles that were criticized at the time by black activists and later by Robeson himself. When a close friend, Marie Seton, asked him to do a benefit concert for Jewish refugees in 1933, he said, "I'm an artist. I

don't understand politics." Seton retorted that as a black man he could never be simply an artist. Robeson was shaken enough to agree to give the performance. He also enrolled in courses on African and Asian culture at the University of London and began to consider the broader meaning of the colonial experience.

In 1934 Robeson went to Russia where he walked among admiring throngs and conferred at length with Soviet film director Sergei Eisenstein. Impressed by the atmosphere of racial tolerance and the example of "a nation leaping from tribalism to modern industrial economy," Robeson underwent a deeply personal conversion. "Maybe you'll understand," he told Eisenstein. "I feel like a human being for the first time since I grew up."

Convinced that the commercial cinema would never let him portray blacks as full human beings, he abandoned his lucrative film career and began to experiment with concerts in theaters frequented by the lower classes. He gave benefit performances for left-wing unions and Republican Spain and championed the development of Pan-Africanism. Although Robeson apparently never joined the Communist Party, he was clearly (as one associate recalls) "ideologically committed."

His artistic career continued to flourish, reaching a zenith with his 1943 performance in *Othello*

Critics of the Robeson play are upset that it reduces the revolutionary content of his life in favor of sympathetic sentiment.

tic, it concludes, "It is precisely here that the greatest danger lies. For we in the black community have repeatedly seen the giants among us reduced from revolutionary heroic dimensions to manageable sentimentalized size. If they cannot be co-opted in life, then it is simple enough to tailor their images in death."

The statement was signed by 56 prominent blacks, including Alvin Ailey, James Baldwin, Vinette Carroll, Nikki Giovanni, Coretta Scott King, Detroit mayor Coleman Young, Julian Bond and Paul Robeson Jr. Although it did not urge a boycott or cancellation, its strong language and the even stronger credentials of its signers drew substantial attention—and criticism.

A number of people have questioned the propriety of such a public statement regardless of the quality of the play. Some, including actor Jones and the play's producer, Don Gregory, suggested that it constituted a form of censorship. "I'm sorry that people like ones in the ad are being led down the garden path by some radicals with bees in their bonnet ...," Gregory told reporters. "I think the whole thing is very political, and it scares me to death. Censorship before the fact is fascism."

Paul Robeson Jr., 50, Robeson's only child, is at the center of the controversy. At a recent forum at Hunter College, attended by nearly 1,000 people, he paraphrased supporters of the play as saying, "What's all the furor? The play makes your father into a nice guy. It doesn't say anything bad about him; he even comes out kind of heroic."

"There's only one problem," he added. "It's not my father."

He charges that the play gives

almost no attention to Robeson's strong political views, focusing instead on trivial, largely apocryphal incidents. "It's like you were doing a play about a great Jewish leader like David Ben-Gurion and he came off like Danny Kaye."

Not fictionalized.

"Sons rarely know their fathers, observes playwright Dean. Although his play had to be accommodated to the personality of James Earl Jones, he maintains that it is not fictionalized. "I did change some facts for dramatic purposes. But the play follows Robeson's book, *Here I Stand*, fairly closely. You can't literally take a book like that and put it on the stage. You do not tell people, you show people. You have to have a philosophy and turn it into action."

One who disagreed with critics of the play is Carl Stokes, former mayor of Cleveland and now a special assignment reporter for NBC's local news in New York. Stokes, who worked with Robeson in the 1948 Henry Wallace campaign in Ohio, said he saw the play and could not understand the protests. "I went back and saw it again, and I still could not understand. If there was anything demeaning to him, I would have been the first to jump up and complain."

Stokes, who has done a seven-part TV news series on the controversy, does not consider the protest censorship and acknowledges "the thinness of a one-man, two-hour show about a man who may have been the most extraordinary man we've known." He is, however, strongly critical of those who he says signed the protest without having read or seen the play, and he emphasizes his belief that the play provides

a positive introduction to Robeson to those who have never heard of him.

In mid-May, a month after the play had finally closed down, a statement was issued by the Dramatists Guild attacking the Ad-Hoc Committee's declaration for "violating the principles of the First Amendment" by imposing "group censorship." Its 33 signers included Jules Feiffer, Lillian Hellman, Edward Albee, Allan Jay Lerner and Arthur Miller. Paul Robeson Jr. answered this by observing that, to his knowledge, none of the 33 signers ever supported his father when he was blacklisted from Broadway and denied a passport.

The difficulty of producing and performing a dramatic work about a contemporary figure may be the root of the problem. "It may be legal to do it," says one producer who has been following the debate, "but how ethical is it? How aesthetically sound is it? We are very limited in our ability to convey the total truth about someone who is so recently dead."

Carl Stokes, for example, was horrified by NBC's recent documentary on Martin Luther King Jr. "NBC's depiction of King was awful. I knew Martin, I knew him well. That movie wasn't Martin." Stokes added that if he had seen it before it was on, he would have panned it even though it was on his own network.

"I think Paul Robeson Jr. is still angry about what was done to his father," says Phillip Dean. "He is saying, in effect, 'None of you did a goddam thing for my father while he was alive and now you want to do something.' Well, that's the way humanity is. People are trying to make amends."

Richard Goldensohn is a writer in New York.

—the first time in American history that a black man had played the role of Shakespeare's Moor.

The honeymoon ends.

With the emergence of the Cold War, the Popular Front honeymoon came to an abrupt end. For Robeson the result was devastating. Federal and state legislative committees investigated him. The FBI placed him under constant surveillance. Officials denied him concert halls. Music stores removed his records from their shelves. Concert managers refused to book him. Newspapers hounded him. Black leaders denounced him, and violence repeatedly disrupted his concerts.

In 1949, the self-proclaimed patriots of Peekskill, N.Y., wielding knives, fenceposts and clubs, terrorized trapped concertgoers, built a bonfire of their books and music and burned a 12-foot cross. "Our objective was to prevent the Paul Robeson concert," bragged the commander of the American Legion, "And I think our objective was reached."

At a later Robeson concert in the vicinity, thousands gathered to jeer ("Reds!" "Nigger lovers!" "Go back to Jew City!"), to drag concertgoers from their cars and beat them and to smash the windows of departing vehicles with rocks—some the size of footballs.

The State Department did its part by revoking Robeson's passport, thus foreclosing the possibility of his performing abroad.



Paul Robeson, before the HUAC in 1956.

In effect a prisoner in his own land, Robeson grew bitter, denouncing American foreign and domestic policy in the most strident terms. Despondent, exhausted and frustrated, he aged rapidly. Even the 1958 Supreme Court victory in his passport case produced only a brief renaissance. His health collapsed completely in the early 1960s. Thereafter, until his death, he lived in almost total seclusion and obscurity.

Dorothy Butler Gilliam's book tells this grim story with clarity and insight. There are occasional errors of historical detail, and some important questions will remain unanswered until a biographer is allowed access to Robeson's personal papers. But Gilliam's portrayal rings true and is

never saccharine or sentimental.

She doesn't shy away from the less pleasant aspects of Robeson's life: his marital difficulties, his shifts with the party line, his deep sense of personal betrayal. The real Paul Robeson was no saint but a talented individual who threw himself unreservedly into the political struggles of his time. Black by birth and red by conviction, he did not flinch at the fearsome price exacted by his nation.

"The artist must elect to fight for freedom or for slavery," Robeson declared. "I have made my choice."

—Lawrence S. Wittner
Lawrence S. Wittner teaches history at the State University of New York at Albany. His latest book is *Cold War America*.

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.

ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE

Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning

11 GRACE AVENUE
Great Neck, N.Y. 11021
212-895-7005
516-466-4642

In These Times provides a unique filter for the world—a quick review of urban, labor, international, women's, cultural news from a people's perspective.

Invaluable to an on-the-run elected official.

Ruth Messinger
Member
New York
City Council
4th District
Manhattan



SUBSCRIBE TODAY

- ☐ Send **IN THESE TIMES** for 4 trial months. Here's \$7.75.
☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of **IN THESE TIMES**. Here's \$17.50.

Name _____
Address _____
City, State _____
Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

IN THESE TIMES, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

- ☐ Send me **IN THESE TIMES** for 4 trial months. Here's \$7.75.
☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of **IN THESE TIMES**. Here's \$17.50.

Name _____
Address _____
City, State _____
Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

- ☐ Send **IN THESE TIMES** for 4 trial months. Here's \$7.75.
☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of **IN THESE TIMES**. Here's \$17.50.

Name _____
Address _____
City, State _____
Zip _____

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

ART

Sunbelt garners increasing share of art money

By Terry Trucco

SUNBELT TILT—THE shift of money, people and power out of the frosty North to the booming South and West—is becoming a multi-million dollar force in the art world. While millions of Americans have been moving west, art has been migrating too—to museums that now house collections of world importance in Dallas, Los Angeles, Pasadena and Santa Barbara.

The art elite of the Eastern Seaboard may sniff at the *nouveaux richesses* of California and Texas, as cultivated Europeans once scorned brash New Yorkers, but when vast sums of new money are spent on acquiring art works, areas once considered cultural backwaters can become capitals of the art world.

The Norton Simon Museum (formerly the Pasadena Museum of Contemporary Art) is one example of a California suburb turned overnight into an important art center by a rich westerner. And John D. Rockefeller III recently announced that he will leave his impressive collection of historical American art—currently in New York—to the Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco.

But the event that has shaken the art world most profoundly is the late J. Paul Getty's decision to turn his private museum—a copy of an Italian villa, perched high above the Pacific in Malibu—into the most financially powerful art center in the world. When the oil billionaire died in 1976, he left not only his extraordinary art collection, but the bulk of his immense fortune to his museum.

Getty's powerful palace.

The Getty bequest totally disrupted the balance of buying power in the world of art collecting. With an endowment of nearly \$800 million—almost six times that of New York's Metropolitan—Getty's beachside palace makes museum directors around the world tremble. With an annual income of \$50 million, the

J. Paul Getty left \$800 million to his museum. It shook up the art world.

Getty can easily afford to buy every major piece of art on sale everywhere and still have plenty of loose change.

Already off to a rousing start, it recently acquired a statue attributed to the fourth century B.C. Greek sculptor Lysippus. If the tall, bronze athlete, rescued from the Adriatic by a pair of Italian fishermen, is indeed a Lysippus, the Getty owns the only known work by a classic Greek sculptor in the world—for which it paid a reported \$5.9 million, the highest price ever paid for a statue by an American museum.

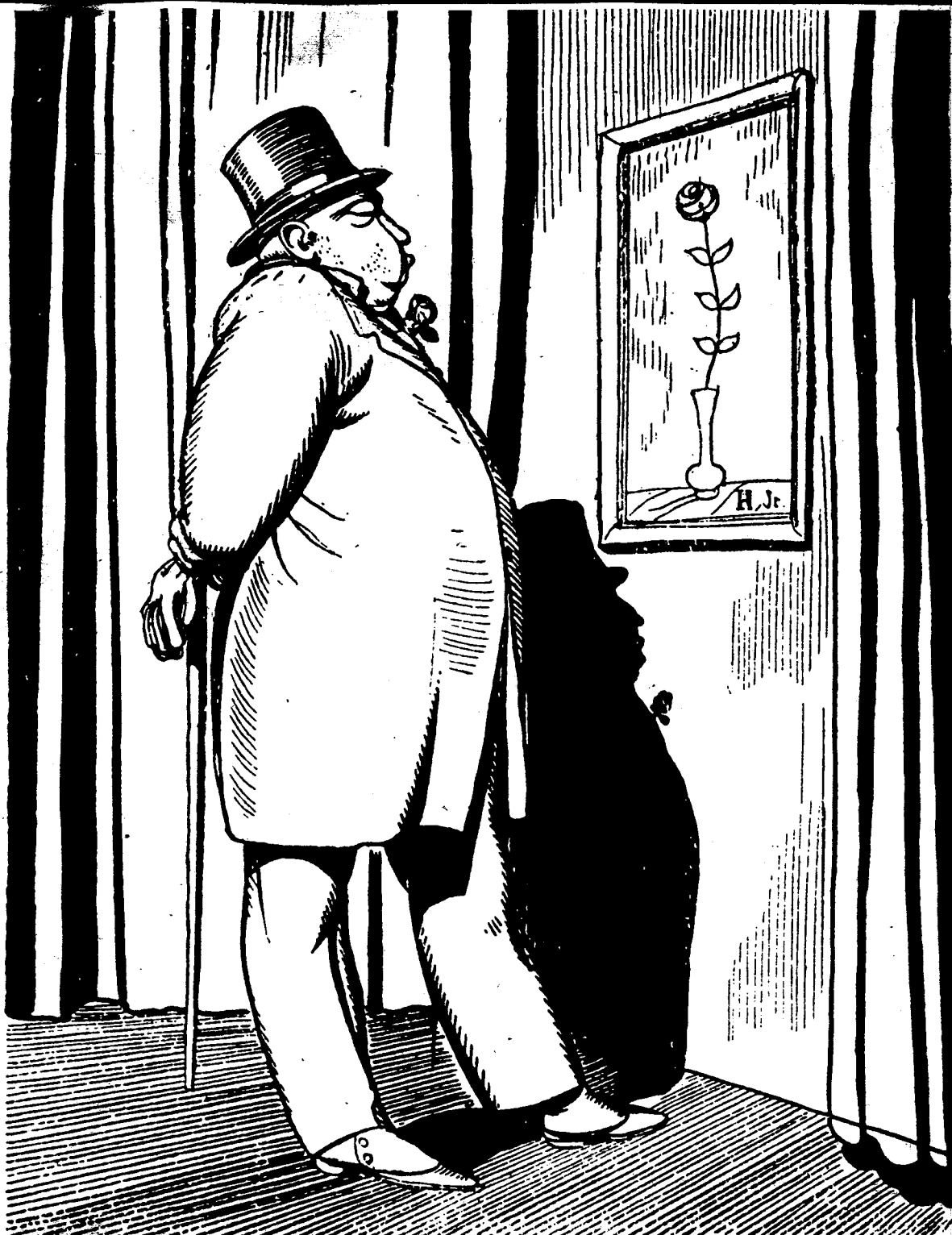
Much of the world's great art is not for sale. The Getty bequest won't cast any shadows on Paris' Louvre or London's Tate Gallery. But for younger, developing museums like Dallas' Kimball or European museums like Amsterdam's famous Rijksmuseum, the Getty's buying power is an ominous sign that art prices are about to skyrocket.

Says one auction authority, "If someone dies and leaves a museum a nice little bequest of \$25,000 a year, that won't even be a drop."

Getty spokesmen promise they will be prudent buyers and point to the fact that they negotiated the price of the Lysippus for nearly five years. The Getty has even indicated that it is willing to share its wealth and its art with those East Coast museums that have in the past thumbed their noses at the *nouveau riche* interloper from the West. For starters, it has already lent its Lysippus to both the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the Denver Art Museum.

Why go west?

Why are major art collectors choosing to bequeath their collections to the Sunbelt—particularly men like Rockefeller and Getty who spend their lives in



Rockwell Kent's "The Collector"

places like London and New York?

One reason is that collectors have discovered, as Rockefeller did, that their money and their art can have a stronger impact in places that still have gaps to fill in their collections, rather than in museums like the Metropolitan where masterpieces already crowd the walls.

In a place like San Francisco the gift can make a genuine and immediately perceptible difference in the community's art climate.

"There has been an interest in American art out here for years, but we've never had the collection to support it," says Wanda Corn, American art historian at Mills College in Oakland. "The Rockefeller collection should be a tremendous boost to the pos-

sibilities of American art scholarship in this area."

Another reason art is moving west is that while museums in Texas and California hustle for important bequests, East Coast art scholars and museum people—content and secure in their vast holdings—have tended till now to look with benevolence, not alarm, on bequests they didn't get.

At the time of the Rockefeller announcement, Philippe de Montebello, acting director of the Metropolitan, said, "Obviously, there are major items we'd like, but so large a gift for us would be redundant. It's good for the country to have a distribution of treasures."

As one market observer explains, "The great institutions of the East have taken themselves out of the competition because

they don't need bequests like the Rockefeller."

Other museum authorities insist there is little to be concerned about. All the important art will not end up in California, they contend, because other museums have cultivated dealers through the years and have their own methods for scouting new art.

The attitude of indulgent superiority is showing signs of cracking, however. What seems to disturb established art leaders most is not losing a few artifacts to the Sunbelt but seeing all that money slip away.

"It was a wicked thing for Getty to do," says one New Yorker. Most of the art world would probably agree.

(©1978 Pacific News Service)
Terry Trucco is an art correspondent for Pacific News Service.

CLASSIFIED

FOR SALE

GARBAGE DRUMS—Buy 3, Get 1 Free. \$7 each, free del. Chicago—878-1245.

ANTI-NUKE PARAPHERNALIA: Buttons, Bumperstickers, "No Nukes" T-shirt, Comic. Custom printing at discount. Free info: COLT, Box 271-IT, Newvernon, NJ 07976.

IN CHICAGO

The Midwest's largest selection of Marxist and leftwing books and periodicals. Many titles in Spanish & German. 20% discount on all new books. Mail inquiries are welcome. Tel. (312) 525-3667 11 to 7:30 p.m., 6 days

Guild Bookstore
1118 W. Armitage
Chicago, Ill. 60614

ACTIVISTS / PROGRESSIVE PUBLIC OFFICIALS: Keep up to date on progressive public policy around the nation. Subscribe to bimonthly WAYS & MEANS. \$10/yr. charter subscription rate. National Conference/Alternative State and Local Policies, Rm. 501, 1901 Q St., NW, Washington, DC 20009.

WHAT'S REALLY HAPPENING IN KAMPUCHEA? Read eyewitness reports in THE CALL, the only U.S. newspaper that has been there since liberation. \$12/yr. \$2/ten wks. The Call, P.O. Box 5597, Chicago, IL 60680.

NUCLEAR WAR PAMPHLET. 14 Dramatic Pictures Show What Happens. Plus What You Can Do To Stop Nuclear War. Plus a Listing of Some Peace-Oriented Organizations. Single or Multiple Copies Available At No Charge Except For Shipping and Handling Costs. Write Jerome Grossman, Box 2000, AD, Wellesley, Mass. 02151

THE PUBLIC EYE: A new political quarterly on repression in America. \$8/year, \$2/issue. Repression Information Project, P.O. Box 3278, Washington, DC 20010.

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE/SOUTHEAST is conducting a "Workshop in Nonviolence: A Study/Training Program for Organizers," July 21-26, in Chapel Hill, NC. The workshop will include sessions on the philosophy and the politics of nonviolence, as well as the practical skills and techniques essential for such organizing. Cost is \$35 for six days. For more information, contact WRLSE, 108 Purefoy Road, Chapel Hill, NC 27514; (919) 967-7244.

JUNE JEWISH CURRENTS EDITORIAL: "EMBARGO MIDEAST ARMS SALES"; "The Racism in 'Star Wars'"; "If We Die," Poem by Ethel Rosenberg, music by Lionel B. Davis; "What About Secular Jews?" by Rabbi Robert E. Goldberg. Stories, Poems and Reviews. Single copy

60¢, subscription \$7.50 yearly U.S.A. Jewish Currents, Dept. T, 22 East 17 St., N.Y.C. 10003. New pamphlet by Schappes "Irving Howe's 'The World of Our Fathers': A Critical Analysis," send 60¢. Special—just published—A TEN YEAR HARVEST, 1976 Jewish Currents Reader, 1966-1976, 300 pp., paperback, \$3.75.

SUN POWER! BUTTONS—red sun on yellow, 50¢ each, 3 for \$1, bulk discounts. PIRGIM, 590 Hollister Building, Lansing, MI 48933.

TYPESETTING: IN THESE TIMES is now setting jobs at very reasonable rates. IN THESE TIMES typesetters and other on hand. Will set large or small jobs. For stylesheet or estimate contact: In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave. Chicago, 489-4444.

"LOVE TIMES" (GAY-BI) Magazine. Sample copy \$3; Yearly subscription \$15. Box 156077, Honolulu, HI 96815. Inquiries invited; applications available.

CORRESPONDENCE WANTED

Alan Williamson, 144-064, Box 45699, Lucasville, OH 45699.

Arthur Shelton, 106334, JRCC infirm, State Farm, VA 23160.

John Johnson, #39826, Box 1000, Stellacom, Washington 98388.

James Walter Sanders, 026418, P.O. Box 747, Starke, FL 32091.

HELP WANTED

GUTSY, PERSISTENT INDIVIDUAL needed to work as full-time fundraiser for In These Times. \$900/month against 10% of money raised. Interested? Call and convince us we should hire you. Nick Rabkin, 312/489-4444.

BOOKS PRINTED—Compugraphic Typesetting. Biography Press, Rt. 1-745, Aransas Pass, TX 78336.

CLASSIFIED RATES:
25¢ PER WORD PREPAID

Records

KAYA

Bob Marley and the Wailers
(Island Records)

Kaya makes abundantly clear that the deterioration in Bob Marley's music that began with *Exodus* continues. There is little on this album that equals either the compelling drive or the barbed social commentary of Marley's earlier work.

Side one features three songs that Marley originally recorded in Jamaica in the early '70s. (Available on the import album *African Herbsman*.) The superiority of the earlier versions is striking. The problem isn't with his current excellent band and back-up vocalists; it's Marley's hopelessly laid-back arrangement and vocals that are responsible for the soullessness here.

The second side reveals that Marley, the most gifted and influential reggae artist in the world, is going through a severe personal crisis. His confusion about the future is touched on in "Misty Morning," and with "Crisis" we find the source of the problem—the continued widespread killings and violence that dominate Jamaican political and social life and here turned Marley into an exile from his own country.

The key to *Kaya* is "Running Away," perhaps the most revealing and puzzling song Marley has ever written. In December 1976 Marley narrowly missed being assassinated after he appeared in a concert backing the candidacy of Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley. Marley subsequently left Jamaica and told the British rock paper *Melody Maker* that he would no longer be involved in what he called "commercial politics," which had got "too heavy." "Running Away" is his response to the frequent charge that he has left behind both roots, music and politics.

*I've got to protect my life,
and I don't want to live with
no strife.*

*It's better to live on the house
top*

*than to live in a house full of
confusion.*

*So, I made my decision, and
I left you*

*now you coming to tell me
that I'm running away,
but it's not true, I am not
running away*

To make an already ambiguous ending even more confusing, Marley sings the last half of the song in a bizarre, high-pitched, craggy voice, leaving us to guess whether he really believes what he's singing or if the assumed voice means that "someone else" is saying this. The album ends with "Time Will Tell," an extremely mellow profession of faith.

If *Kaya* reflects Marley's personal turmoil and aesthetic stagnation, his appearance in late April at the Kingston "One Love" peace concert suggests the possibility that this could change. The rally brought together leaders of Kingston's warring youth gangs, rival (and often warring) politicians and the leading Jamaican reggae bands in an unprecedented show of unity.

The concert was Marley's first appearance in his country since December 1976. If it means that he will return to both his roots and the incomparable music he

used to make, disappointments like *Kaya* will be easily forgotten.

—Bruce Dancis

Bruce Dancis writes regularly for IN THESE TIMES on rock and reggae music.

THE LAST OF THE BLUE DEVELS

Jay McShann
(Atlantic Records)

This record is a re-introduction to the piano playing and blues singing of Jay McShann.

McShann hails from one of the great American hotbeds of jazz,



Generation X (above) and Root Boy Slim (right).

His new record justifies Jay McShann's return.

Kansas City. In the late 1930s and early '40s McShann was the leader of a successful big band that made its popularity on a number of best-selling blues-based songs. The band could also swing, and with members like Charlie Parker, was a highly regarded unit.

McShann was drafted in 1944, and when he returned to civilian life, big bands were declining in popularity. McShann's attempts to reorganize his unit failed. He stuck to his music, playing in small groups, usually from his home base of Kansas City. He rarely recorded music, and trips east of the Mississippi were infrequent.

The Last of the Blue Devils justifies McShann's return. Backed up by a six-piece band that includes Joe Newman, Paul Quinnette and Buddy Tate on horns, John Scofield on guitar, with Jackie Williams and Milt Hinton handling rhythm, McShann creates a sound that belies the group's size. They can swing and play the blues with equal facility and intensity, handle big band numbers like "Jumping at the Woodside" and "Hootie Blues," and then switch to blues tunes like "Kansas City" without a step lost.

McShann's piano and voice have a blues bite, but the style is so light and airy that the aura of swinging is never obscured. Here is an old pro who has not lost his touch, creativity or artistry.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann reviews music and film for IN THESE TIMES.

RETURN TO MAGENTA

Mink De Ville
(Capitol)

Second albums, like second novels, are a scary artistic milestone. Careers can take off or crash on the merit of the follow-up to a successful first effort (unsuccessful ones, needless to say, rarely get the opportunity).

Mink De Ville's debut album was easily one of the top records of '77. On *Return to Magenta*, Willy DeVille and the boys have tried to copy their own success—almost always a mistake because



songs like "A-train Lady" and "I Broke That Promise," the album enjoys some fine moments.

The group does show some growth on this album. They've shed a lot of the imitative tendencies that were so ingratiating on *Mink De Ville* (although one new cut is pure Jay & the Americans), but haven't yet replaced imitation with a definite style of their own. Considering that it'd be almost impossible to top a perfect first LP, *Return to Magenta* is at least a creditable step sideways.

—P. Hertel

AFRICANISM

Kongas
(Polydor)

French disco king Cerrone has concentrated on the blues vein, putting together a disco pastiche, heavy on drum panoplies, anonymous compelling voices and a right-on sense of time.

Like other Cerrone-produced albums (including his own "Love in C Minor" and "Supernature"), *Africanism* is infectious and ultimately cold. But this time, Cerrone has created a tour de force in his reworking of the Spencer Davis/Stevie Winwood classic, "Gimme Some Lovin'," turning it into more than 15 minutes of bravura disco blues, with horns and keyboard voicings matching the best of modern Motown.

No soul here, but there's such creative use of technology, such meticulous attention to aural and rhythmic detail that *Africanism* succeeds magnificently in intent: to make you dance.

—C.W.

ROOT BOY SLIM & THE SEX CHANGE BAND

with the Rootettes
(Warner Bros.)

This is the funniest, swingingest rock album since Captain Beefheart materialized on the rock scene more than ten years ago.

Root Boy is a wow in Washington, D.C., where he and his band and two-woman backup play a zany, obnoxious music that sounds like a cross between Zappa and Geils. The lyrics snipe at current obsessions with the accuracy of a laser.

The music has a touch of reggae ("Too Sick to Reggae") and a heavy dose of blues. (Check out how Root Boy steals the structure of "Good Morning, Little Schoolgirl" for the touching and hilarious "You Broke My Mood Ring.") The musicianship and production are first-rate, with fine drive by drummer Tommy Ruger and guitarist Ernie.

There are too few zanies in rock and roll. The Fugs have been dormant for a long time. Zappa is in

eclipse and involved in record company hassles. Beefheart—who knows? But the antic vein is alive and well in the hammy hands of Root Boy.

This hulking rock humorist has no axe to grind. He just wants to swing and comment on current foibles. His humor is heavy-handed, apt to turn off many listeners, but he is a master of dialect and attitude. Whether he is purveying a syrupy ballad ("Heartbreak of Psoriasis") or chronicling trends ("I Used to Be a Radical"), Root Boy sings with passion, mucking his way through lines you don't believe at first, then grow to like and laugh at.

The album is anti-romantic, not nostalgic. Don't expect any much from this man and his band. But the observations are acute, and the music carries. The form is so controlled that the satire works.

—Carlo Wolf

GENERATION X

Generation X
(Chrysalis)

This may be the true Power Pop, a persuasive blend of the Sex Pistols and the Beatles. Lots of power chording, blitzkrieg drumming, OK guitar by Bob Andrews (better than OK on the curiously laid-back "Kiss Me Deadly.")

It works: Generation X, headed by spikily cute Billy Idol, cuts a successful rock figure, touching on the traditional themes (teenage rebellion, sex, rock itself) with finesse and power.

"Wild Dub," a vocal/instrumental vamp on "Wild Youth," perks up your ears. And "Your Generation" is right in line with its Who predecessor.

Great fun punk, this promises to get better with each hearing.

—C.W.

UNLEASHED

Hounds
(Columbia)

In the lurid promotional hype for this album, Hounds' leader John Hunter says the group wants to make people think. Hounds makes me want to listen to something—almost anything—else.

This midwestern group is the underside of Kansas, that humorless combo that tries to soar in the heavy metal stratosphere but all too often remains earthbound. But at least Kansas sounds pretty sometimes; Hounds sounds ugly, and the group's preoccupation with violence, sexism, drunkenness is repulsive.

A crude attempt to forge a kind of heavy metal punk rock, Hounds is a dog for sure.

—C.W.

Cold dogs: The Hounds



WILL THE REAL 1968 PLEASE STAND UP?



THE TV GUIDE ADVERTISEMENT promised a great deal: "Kennedy. King. Chicago. Mini-skirts. Tet. *Laugh-In*. LBJ." 1968: *A Crack In Time*, shown June 11 on ABC, was to be different from the typical television documentary. "Tonight we're going to step back into that crack in time," Cliff Robertson begins the program, "and walk through a series of real events—moments more exciting and sometimes more horrifying than any playwright would dare to include in a work of fiction."

Co-hosts Robertson and Frank Reynolds promise that their walk through the past will tell us something important about ourselves. That year's events, they say, "cascaded upon one another in a sound and fury that signified more than we know even now, ten years later."

One hour later, the program had offered much sound and fury but little of significance about 1968. In fact, 1978: *A Crack In Time* is a barrage of film clips and commentary that could not have been better designed to strip events of their meaning.

Taking potshots at TV documentary specials is easy, and watching them—let alone examining them closely—can be a waste of time. But even a program as bad as 1968 reveals much about the way television organizes our immediate past—and its own.

In the beginning, *Laugh-In*.

The 1960s saw the sit-in and the teach-in and the be-in—political and cultural activities carried on outside the mainstream. Television's look at one year of massive protest begins with its own contribution to the forms of collective experience: *Laugh-In*.

"At its peak, upwards of 20 million Americans shared the *Laugh-In* experience in front of their television sets every Monday night," Robertson says. "It seemed like a good place to begin our walk through 1968."

One of the year's biggest stars has been introduced: television itself. 1968 presents ABC's Don Baker in Vietnam, ABC's Howard K. Smith on the Kennedy assassination, and CBS's Dan Rather at the Chicago Democratic convention. In each case, something unexpected happens. Baker can't remember where he is as he signs off, Smith worriedly extends California primary coverage as he learns of the shooting, and Rather is roughed up by security guards at the convention, provoking Walter Cronkite to burst out: "I think we've got a bunch of thugs here, Dan, if I may be permitted to say so." Cronkite is angry: something must be wrong.

From *Laugh-In*'s "Sock It To Me," Robertson is forced by the program's form—it is organized chronologically—into an awkward transition. "In 1968, it seemed like everyone wanted to sock it to someone else," he says, leading up to the seizure of the U.S.S. *Pueblo*. "On January

23, the day after *Laugh-In* first went on the air, North Korea socked it to the United States."

The walk through 1968 quickly becomes a forced march. The *Pueblo* incident and Tet give way to the New Hampshire primary, President Johnson's withdrawal and the King assassination. The Columbia protest, May 1968 in France, Kennedy's death and miniskirts follow in rapid succession.

Disconnected.

The chronology presents problems. Events that could easily be connected—the presidential primaries, the national political conventions and the election—are interrupted for snippets of foreign news, sports and culture.

1968 could have been organized thematically around such continuing stories as the election, the war, the campuses and the assassinations. Instead, the four segments are winter, spring, summer and fall. As the pages of the calendar flip past, we feel we've been thrown back into the year. What's next, we wonder, and if the war bores us we know that baseball and football and Jackie are soon to come.

Providing a sense of immediacy rather than the perspective of a decade, the program suggests innumerable evening newscasts packed into an hour. Robertson describes 1968 as a "miracle of historical compression," and the same might be said of the show itself.

The confrontations blur into one another. There are the identical helicopter shots of smoky buildings and people running. Washington is burning after King's murder, Saigon burns during Tet. Paris burns in May, and the machine guns on the White House steps could have been in Danang or Chicago.

"1968 was taking on a new distinction," Reynolds sums up. "It became the year of the demonstration, the year of the riot."

The demonstrations and riots are reduced to televised images of confrontation, torn out of context—Columbia was simply about "campus reform" and blacks rioted in the cities for no apparent reasons.

Here, for example, is the way ABC shifts from Chicago

Continued on page 18.